GEORGE DAVIDSON

SOCIAL POLICY and PUBLIC POLICY EXEMPLAR

by Richard B. Splane

Canadian Council on
Social Development

GEORGE DAVIDSON:
SOCIAL POLICY and PUBLIC POLICY EXEMPLAR

by Richard B. Splane

Canadian Council on
Social Development

Copyright © by Richard B. Splane. All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, or by any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

The analyses, views and opinions expressed in this book are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the position or policies of the Canadian Council on Social Development.

National Library of Canada Cataloguing in Publication
Splane, Richard B.
George Davidson : social policy and public policy exemplar / Richard Splane.

Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 0-88810-522-3

1. Davidson, George, 1909-1995. 2. Canada–Social policy. 3. Political planning – Canada – History. 4. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation – Biography. 5. Canada – Officials and employees – Biography. 6. British Columbia – Officials and employees – Biography. I. Canadian Council on Social Development II. Title.

HV28.D38S65 2003 320'.6'092 C2003-903554-9

Cover photograph of George Davidson: Yousef Karsh/National Archives of Canada/PA214279
Copy editing and indexing by Elizabeth MacFie.
Layout by More In Typo Ltd.

Published by:
Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD)
309 Cooper Street, 5th Floor
Ottawa, ON K1P 0G5
Tel: (613) 236-8977; fax: (613) 236-2750
E-mail: council@ccsd.ca Internet: www.ccsd.ca

Books published or distributed by the CCSD can be ordered from:
Renouf Publishing
Tel: (613) 745-2665, or toll-free in Canada: 866-767-6766
Fax: (613) 745-7660
Toll-free from the U.S.: 888-551-7470

104-04401/

To Verna Huffman Splane

Contents

Acknowledgements vii

Preface ix

Chapter 1 George Forrester Davidson, A Key Player in a Great Period of National Development. 1

Chapter 2 The Ten Earliest Years: Bass River, Colchester County, Nova Scotia, Canada (1909–1919) 5

Chapter 3 The New Westminster Years (1919–1924). 17

Chapter 4 The University of British Columbia (1924–1928) 25

Chapter 5 The Harvard Years and Post-Doctoral Travel (1928–1933) 33

Chapter 6 British Columbia (1933–1942)
  Victoria: Superintendent of Welfare / Director of Social Welfare
  Vancouver: Executive Director, Council of Social Agencies / Welfare Federation 45

Chapter 7 Redirecting the Canadian Welfare Council (1942–1944) 77

Chapter 8 Serving with the Federal Government of Canada: An Overview 93

Chapter 9 Deputy Minister: National Health and Welfare; Citizenship and Immigration. 99

Chapter 10 Senior Mandarin: Bureau of Government Organization; Treasury Board 137

Chapter 11 President of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. 153

Chapter 12 The International Dimension:
The United Nations Years. 173
Chapter 13 Life and Legacy 195
Appendix Selected Writings of George Davidson, CC, PhD . . 211
Notes 213
Bibliography 219
Index 225
About the author 235

Acknowledgements

The lengthy process of writing *George Davidson: Social Policy and Public Policy Exemplar* began in 1996 when I learned that Professor Allan Irving, who was engaged in writing biographies of Harry Cassidy and Brock Chisholm, no longer intended to add a biographical study of George Davidson and urged me to undertake it. Although I had not previously thought of doing a biography of George Davidson, once the idea took hold I found myself highly attracted to it. This stemmed from many personal and professional circumstances: Dr. Davidson's magnetic role in the career decisions I made; the academic and professional pathways I trod in the early post-war years; my entry into the part of the public service of Canada in which Davidson was the top policy and executive figure; my appointment as his executive assistant and then as director of a program of which he was the main architect; my unabated interest in his ongoing work in the most senior posts in the Canadian state, including the presidency of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and, thereafter, the executive and consultative roles he carried in the United Nations. Of comparable and intertwined importance was my fascination with George Davidson's identification with the profession of social work and the expanding field of social welfare. It was in these areas that his writings first appeared – destined to extend in their range and content from the local community to the provincial, national and international spheres. Thus, the prime acknowledgement in this study must be to George Davidson himself.

Because this biography focuses on policy, it touches only lightly on Davidson's personal life. I am grateful, however, to the scores of persons not listed here who, though having little to contribute on matters of policy, had much to say about the pleasure of their personal and professional contacts with the charismatic George Davidson.

I must acknowledge some individuals who were instrumental in shedding light on aspects of Davidson's social and intellectual development that have bearing on his service in both voluntary and public settings. Those who affirmed the significance of Davidson's early years in Bass River, Nova Scotia, were Lyle Creelman, OC and E. Margaret Fulton, OC – two persons with Bass River roots whose careers, to a degree, paralleled that of their distantly related kinsman. Laurenda Daniells offered guidance on Dr. Davidson's University of British Columbia years and on the general accessing of archives. Esther Paulson, a neighbour to the Davidsons in New Westminster and later, a member of the province's social welfare field service, contributed insightful information. She had direct knowledge of George's early social and educational development and could comment also on how Dr. Davidson, as Director of Social Welfare, skillfully deployed health and social work personnel in the province's interior.

Patricia Fulton, a lifelong leader in social work provincially and nationally, shared her knowledge of George Davidson's work in the public and voluntary sectors in British Columbia. She also provided a unique perspective on the deep influence on Davidson's values and professional performance of outstanding social workers such as Laura Holland, Zella Collins and Mary McPhedran.

In writing about Davidson's years as deputy minister of National Welfare, I was able to supplement my own workaday knowledge with informed views of colleagues, including Douglas Allen, Sylva Gelber and Lloyd Francis. Information and commentary on Davidson's years at the very centre of government was provided by Tom Kent through interviews and his extensive insider writings reflecting his position as the prime minister's principal adviser and other associated roles.

Information on Davidson's appointment to the presidency of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and his five years in the CBC's senior position was abundantly available in Davidson's many public addresses and in the writings of Prime Minister Lester Pearson, Knowlton Nash and a former vice-president, Peter Meggs.

Davidson's linkages with the United Nations began with his various roles in UN committees while in the federal government. Their importance was recognized by Clyde Sanger in his authoritative book *Canadians in the United Nations*, which describes George Davidson as "one of the more famous and colourful Ottawa mandarins." Davidson's appointment to the UN in 1972 was, in Clyde Sanger's words, "the most senior post held by a Canadian in the United Nations." Additional light was shed on Davidson's 16 years in the UN by two Canadians who had significant roles in the international body, Geoffrey Bruce and William Barton, the latter as a Canadian member on the Security Council in the 1970s.

In addition to the gratitude I owe to those named above and to others who added to my appreciation of George Davidson's qualities and accomplishments are a number of gifted individuals who responded to requests for advice on the content and style of my written work. Three require special mention: Shirley Stinson, Glennis Zilm and Terrance Hunsley. Shirley Stinson revealingly proofread one of the later drafts of the manuscript. I frequently sought the counsel of Glennis Zilm, as I had for earlier works, on the form the book should take and the style of its presentation. Terrance Hunsley's perceptive comments on the manuscript led to its extensive refocusing with sharpened emphasis on social policy.

At a less personal level are the thanks I owe to libraries and archives: the University of British Columbia's Archives and Special Collections; the Provincial Archives in Victoria; the Robarts Library and Archives of the University of Toronto; the Harvard University Archives; and Canada's National Library and Archives in Ottawa.

My final appreciative acknowledgement is to the book's publisher, the Canadian Council on Social Development (CCSD). In pursuit of its mission of service to all Canadians and especially to the socially and economically disadvantaged, CCSD has an extensive publishing output. It does not normally publish books. Exceptions are made when a book has clear links to the Council's mission. One example was *75 Years of Community Service to Canada*, published in 1996. Its subtitle, *Canadian Council on Social Development 1920–1995*, indicated that it provided a vital complement to the Council's ongoing work. A second example is this book. Two facts attest to the rationale for the Council taking on its publication: that George Davidson had been the executive director of one of the CCSD's predecessor organizations (the Canadian Welfare Council) in the 1940s; and that Davidson played a significant role in developing the comprehensive social security measures that CCSD has unendingly advocated and promoted.

As author of the 1996 book, I marvelled at the quality of its production and presentation by the CCSD. This book, enjoying the support of the President, Marcel Lauzière, renewed professional links with the Senior Communications Advisor, Nancy Colborne Perkins, and reflecting the editorial prowess of Elizabeth Macfie, is on a similar pathway to an outcome of excellence.

Preface

George Forrester Davidson's personal qualities and the breadth and significance of his work offer an intending biographer broad scope in highlighting and interpreting his remarkable life. The salient points that are to the fore in this biography are identified in the components of the final phrase in the book's title: Social Policy and Public Policy Exemplar.

Central in the narrative are Davidson's introduction to and identification with the fields of social work, social welfare and social development, conceptually encompassed in the term "social policy." A small though significant part of Davidson's linkages to social policy were in positions in voluntary settings, notably in social agencies in Vancouver and as executive director of the Canadian Welfare Council (which later became the Canadian Council on Social Development). The greater part of his career was in settings where he was serving in policy and management roles in the provincial and the federal government. A major focus of his work in these public settings, however, was on social policy.

Conversely, as a deputy minister and later in positions at the very centre of government he was part of what was known in the government of Canada as the mandarinate, consisting of its top-level public officials, the mandarins. George Davidson became one of the four most senior mandarins.

A provisional title for this biography was *George Davidson, Public Policy Mandarin.* Although that title was defensible, it was insufficient and misleading on two grounds. One was because a major part of Davidson's work centred on social programs, the second because Davidson's ideology and personal values were grounded in and found expression through the broad humanitarian concepts and commitments of social work. This biography gives comparable weight to social policy and public policy.

The third term, "exemplar," has its justification in the favourable and somewhat idealistic recognition George Davidson attained in the high-profile positions he held from the earliest stages of his career. It was based on the quality of his work in policy, administration and community development. It resulted also from his linkages with the Canadian and international social work conferences, his teaching at the University of British Columbia's School of Social Work, his creative participation in the Canadian Association of Social Workers, and his early roles in the United Nations.

George Davidson became a model for aspiring young people. This was especially true in the mid-1940s when those emerging from war work or the armed forces were weighing the prospects for worthwhile lifetime careers. It was, indeed, the example of George Davidson and a few of the men and women who were his colleagues that convinced this writer to discard other options and to opt for work in the field of social policy, holding as it did, promise of a career of service in building a reconstructed Canada. For him, and for many others he knew, George Davidson was the prime model – the exemplar.

Richard Splane

■ Chapter 1

George Forrester Davidson, A Key Player in a Great Period of National Development

The life and work of George Davidson offer both information and guidance for the restoration of social values within the public policies of Canadian governments. That is the first and also the last statement of this book. The pages in between show how George Davidson's personal qualities and the progression of opportunities that presented themselves throughout his lifetime combined to make him a social policy leader, a model, an exemplar. The pages contain much that is the social and political history of the 20th century, but beyond history and exposition and individual achievement emerge implications for future social and political policy.

George Forrester Davidson was appointed a Companion of the Order of Canada in 1972. The accompanying citation referred to his roles as a deputy minister and as president of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and gave, as the reason for the appointment, "his leadership and wide-ranging contributions in the field of public administration."

George Davidson's career in the public service did not end in 1972: he served for eight years, to 1980, as Undersecretary-General of the United Nations, and then to 1988, as Special Adviser to the World Population Fund.

This biography, covering the 86 years of his life (1909–1995), touches on George Davidson's ancestry and briefly describes his unusual upbringing in Bass River, Nova Scotia, and New Westminster, British Columbia, his student days at the universities of British Columbia and Harvard, and his year of postdoctoral travel in Europe. It provides a detailed account of his beginning career in social work and social welfare in the government of British Columbia, and in voluntary social welfare agencies in Vancouver and Ottawa.

A major focus of the book is Davidson's years in the public service of Canada from 1944 to 1972, a 28–year period of extraordinary development in Canadian history. The point of view infusing the book is that these were Canada's finest years in expressing the values that were forged from the pioneer experiences of Canadians in creating a nation extending westward from the Atlantic to the Pacific and northward to the Arctic, bearing the trauma and the mixed legacies of two world wars as well as the grimness of the 1930s – a debilitating decade of social and economic depression and political ineptitude.

The years of reconstruction and development after the mid-century are identified by John Godfrey and Rob McLean, the authors of *The Canada We Want*, as meriting recognition and emulation. They credit the period with six great national projects: public health insurance and the health care system; post-secondary education; income security, including the creation of the social safety net; human rights; Canadian culture and research; and physical infrastructure. The authors suggest that an examination of that period, including the battles that were waged against strong opposition, would provide guidance in the struggle to create, in the 21st century, the Canada we want.[1]

George Davidson played exemplary roles in the remarkable endeavours of what merits recognition as a golden age in forwarding the most positive elements in Canadian life. Although the values expressed in the national policies of those years have since been disparaged and the programs they produced weakened or dismantled, enough remains of what was built in that creative era for Canada (since the advent of the United Nations Human Development Index) to be frequently proclaimed the best country, worldwide, in which to live.

George Davidson's contributions to that period of momentous political, social and economic development constitute a central theme of this book. Early chapters tell of the felicitous circumstances that opened the way for the roles Davidson would play in the major endeavours of his time. Later chapters outline the course of human events from the 1940s through the 1960s when the national undertakings were conceived, developed and brought to bear on the lives of all Canadians. The narrative encompasses political, social and economic history and has elements that fall within the indefinable realm of human vision and endeavour.

The Order of Canada's brief citation, apart from referring to his presidency of the CBC, mentioned only that George Davidson had been a deputy minister. He was, indeed, deputy minister of National Welfare in the Department of National Health and Welfare, and in the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Of comparable importance were his roles as Director of the Bureau of Government Organization within the Privy Council Office and as Secretary of the Treasury Board. Clearly, he was at the very centre of government and was a ranking member of the small number of senior public officials whose executive roles embraced policy formulation and program creation. Because they were seen as comparable to the powerful functionaries in Imperial China, the media began calling them "mandarins." George Davidson was a mandarin (a term he did not favour) when the mandarinate, the peer group of mandarins, were playing key roles in the great national endeavours of the time. Who they were, what credentials they had, what parts they played in the total political process emerge as the narrative unfolds, revealing George Davidson to have been a highly influential mandarin.

The book deals with more than George Davidson, public policy mandarin, but it is his contributions as a senior public official that have a major share of the biographical attention this work seeks to secure. That goal has been assisted by the George Davidson Memorial Lecture Series, initiated in 1997 by the Secretary of the Treasury Board.

Exceeding the importance of public policy in George Davidson's life was social policy. Although thrust suddenly into the field of social policy, Davidson absorbed the opportunities it presented and became a long-standing practitioner, advocate, educator, publicist and administrator in the intertwined fields of social work, social welfare and social development. Under the mentorship of Dr. Harry Cassidy, perhaps Canada's most outstanding leader in those fields, Davidson entered into a career centred upon social policy and its underlying values.

An additional element in his life and work was his absorbing interest in the international realm. This found expression in his roles in the early years of the United Nations – roles he first carried while employed by the government of Canada and then fully as a senior member in the management of central functions of the United Nations.

Of salient importance to both public policy and social policy in his years in the public service of Canada was the felicitous timing of his appointment to a position in the government of Canada at the point that it was about to make the historic commitment to comprehensive social security in its design for a reconstructed Canada. Not only was he able to design and administer a major social program, he participated in the writing of the document that provided the scriptural basis – the gospel – for the evolution of the Canadian welfare state: The Green Book Proposals.

The following narrative is about a man and a period that have both historic and contemporary meaning.

Chapter 2

The Ten Earliest Years: Bass River, Colchester County, Nova Scotia, Canada (1909–1919)

George Forrester Davidson was born on April 18, 1909. His father, who would play the dominant role in raising him and his older brother, Allen, was Wendell Oliver Davidson. His mother, Emma Jane Sullivan, died shortly after his birth – a loss filled, in part, by female members of the Davidson and Sullivan families.

When asked about his early years, George Davidson would say that he was a native son of Bass River, Colchester County, Nova Scotia, and, if he were abroad, he would add "Canada." He valued all of those geographic identifications.

Being Nova Scotians to the ages of 10 and 12 would have contributed a number of perceptions of Canada to the consciousness of George and Allen. They would have known that Nova Scotia was an important part of Canada, and would have learned that it had been one of Great Britain's North American colonies that had taken part in the formation of the Dominion of Canada in the 1860s. Both at school and at home they would, however, have heard of Nova Scotia's ambivalence about Confederation. Echoes of the dramatic conflict between those in favour and those opposed to Nova Scotia's surrendering its separate identity in a new and untried political entity would have reached their ears.

This was especially likely because of the two renowned adversaries in the conflict. One was Charles Tupper, who, against great odds, successfully championed the cause of Confederation. He remained a prominent leader in the government of Canada, becoming prime minister for a brief term in 1896. The other was the charismatic

Joseph Howe, who, having played a major role in the social and political life of Nova Scotia from the 1830s, opposed Confederation both before and after its enactment. Having won "better terms" for his province, however, he entered the federal cabinet in 1869 and, in 1873, served briefly as Lieutenant-Governor of his beloved Nova Scotia.

By the early years of George and Allen Davidson – the first and second decades of the 20th century – Nova Scotia was, politically at least, firmly part of Canada, with Liberal and Conservative parties, both provincial and federal, that viewed politics within the national framework. Sir Charles Tupper was the last of the Conservative prime ministers in the 19th century and the last surviving member of the Fathers of Confederation during the post-confederation period that had been largely dominated by Sir John A. Macdonald.

There followed a 15-year period (1896–1911) of Liberal rule under the first French-Canadian prime minister, the eloquent Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Both Allen and George were born while he was still in office, and they found themselves in a Liberal household. Their father was described as a staunch Liberal who enjoyed frequent and vociferous arguments with Captain Edson Everett Thompson, a steadfast Conservative who lived directly across the road on Bass River's main street.

The Davidson boys would have learned that Sir Wilfrid was defeated in 1911 by the Conservative Sir Robert Borden, who remained as prime minister until 1920, a year after the Davidsons had left for British Columbia. The Liberal cause, to their father's satisfaction, fared better provincially. George Henry Murray (a Liberal) won the Nova Scotia premiership in the same year that Sir Wilfrid Laurier had triumphed federally (1896), but Murray managed to remain in office a remarkable 27 years, until 1923.

Four of those years, 1914 to 1918, spanned the First World War and deeply affected, in myriad ways, all parts of Canada. Patriotic fervour came naturally in Nova Scotia. Allen and George would have known of relatives who served in various ways at home, at sea and abroad, and they were old enough, in December 1917, to share the grief and horror of Halifax's mile-high explosion of a munitions ship in its harbour that obliterated great sections of Nova Scotia's capital city and killed or injured 10,000 people. Among the seriously injured was Wendell's sister, Margaret, "the beauty of the family," who was married to Dr. Thomas Armstrong. She carried, through the rest of her life, the disabling injuries of that tragic event.

Colchester County, the fourth largest of the 18 counties of Nova Scotia, was central to the lives of three or four generations of George Davidson's ancestors. The county is in the centre of the province, touching Northumberland Strait on the north and embracing the eastern end of the Bay of Fundy. In addition to being accessible by sea, the land routes from Halifax north to Northumberland Strait, northwest to New Brunswick and northeast to Antigonish and Cape Breton Island all crossed Colchester County.

The early history of the county, like that of Nova Scotia as a whole, was largely preoccupied with the exploitation of the sea and of the forests that covered the land. It was a story of heroic labour and great accomplishment. Prevailing over the forests to turn trees into houses and furniture and boats of every kind, and to clear the land for agriculture, engaged an immigrant and, increasingly, a native-born population for a century or more, extending through the childhood years that Allen and George spent in Bass River.

Life in the province was not all devoted to subduing the forest and braving turbulent waters; the early settlers enjoyed some advantages. Edges of the county had been occupied, and to some extent developed, by the Acadians before their removal in the 1770s. The earliest post-Acadian settlers received assistance from Britain, which sought to encourage British settlement in its struggle to end French dominance in the northern half of the continent.

Every decade from the 1780s on witnessed substantial improvements throughout Colchester County, with the emergence of numerous towns and villages, the establishment of churches and schools, and improved transportation. Truro, the county seat, benefitted from the various transportation routes and, by the mid-1870s had become the first divisional point on the railway from Halifax to Montreal – the Intercolonial Railway that had been promised in the *Constitution Act* of 1867.

Truro had also become an important business, social and cultural centre. Rail transport that stretched to the Pacific by 1885 made it possible for clothing and other goods produced in Truro's expanding factories to reach markets across Canada. With a sound commercial base, improvements were achieved in health services, recreation and education. Hospital services expanded and the Victorian Order of Nurses began its work in 1900; recreational services were given increased support, some through the YMCA, from 1859 on; and competitive sports came to the fore. Furthermore, Truro became the provincial centre for the training of teachers, with its Normal College, opened in 1878 and headed by a renowned Scottish scholar, theologian and educator, Dr. Alexander Forrester (after whom George Forrester Davidson was named).

Dr. Forrester and his young namesake are two of some two hundred men whose biographies are found in *Colchester Men*,[2] a book that covers the years 1760 to 1960. The biographies reveal a wide range of endeavours that included the professions, especially law, education, the ministry and medicine. Their contributions extended to seafaring, farming and various business endeavours – largely the processing of the country's abundant natural resources brought in from the sea, hewn from the forests, or harvested from the farms.

Although Colchester County had no university, universities were readily accessible in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and a substantial number of Colchester men had one or more university degrees. The most famous, Robert Stanfield (Premier of Nova Scotia and leader of the opposition in the Parliament of Canada), received his education in Truro, Ottawa, Halifax and Boston, with degrees from Dalhousie and Harvard. George Davidson's education, as we will see, followed a somewhat similar pattern, with stages in Bass River, New Westminster, Vancouver and Boston, collecting degrees at the University of British Columbia and Harvard.

Bass River, one of more than 40 towns and villages that had sprung up in Colchester County in the 18th century, has won wide renown throughout its history for the volume and quality of its exports of wood products and equally for the outflow of its people, the Davidson family among them.

The Bass River community is located some 30 miles west of Truro along a coastal road, now Highway 2. In the early days it was more accessible by boat along Cobequid Bay to the mouths of Bass River and Little Bass River. The two rivers were central to the economic and social life of the settlement. They were where boats were built and launched for fishing, for import of the goods the village needed, and for export of its forest products. This was particularly true before the advent of improved roads and the arrival of the railroad, which in the 1880s passed through the nearby town of Londonderry. The river is also a route through the forest up into the Cobequid Mountains, which rise to some 900 metres above sea level and are the source of numerous streams and rivers, some flowing south to Cobequid Bay and Minas Basin and others making their way north to Northumberland Strait.

Logs floated down the Bass River provided the early base for the economy of the village. The sawmill built on its banks and the furniture factory downstream gave Bass River its economic footing and more than local fame.

Bass River enjoyed some geographic advantages, but it was the quality of its settlers and their descendants that made the birthplace of the Davidson boys a remarkably fitting base for their early lives.

The full story of the settlement and development of Bass River is told elsewhere. This book focuses on George and Allen's ancestral heritage. It begins, as does the history of Bass River, with James Fulton. Born in 1739 of Scotch-Irish ancestry (traceable to the early Fultons of Ayrshire, Scotland), James was raised and educated in Londonderry, in northeastern Ireland, acquiring skill in land surveying. In 1760 he was employed as a land surveyor in New England, and later was commissioned by the Nova Scotia government to conduct surveys in Colchester County. Rewarded with an extensive grant of land of his choice, he selected Bass River and set about to encourage its settlement and development. Until his death in 1826, he carried many roles in the county and the province, including the judicial appointment that made him widely known as Judge James Fulton.

Fulton also helped to populate the county: he and his wife, Margaret Campbell, had 15 children. Their 59 grandsons and 52 granddaughters spread the Fulton genetic heritage throughout the county and far beyond. An 1874 map showing property holdings in the Bass River community illustrates the predominance of the Fulton name. Along the river and the shore of Cobequid Bay, Fulton properties predominate, representing some 30 holdings, far in excess of that of any other family. Other family names on the map include Thompson, Starritt, Clarke, Creelman, Johnson, McLeod, Hamilton, Smith, Chisholm, Robinson and Davidson (sometimes spelled Davison).

With Fultons and Davidsons abundant in Colchester County, it is not surprising that early intermarriage took place between one of the Davidsons (William) and one of the Fultons (Hannah), the 13th child in Judge James Fulton's family. It is from that union that the 19th and 20th century genealogy of George Davidson is most readily traced.

The second child of the Davidson–Fulton marriage was James William, who was born in 1832 and died in 1915. He married Rebecca O'Brien in 1857, and they had almost as many children as the Fulton grandparent. The 13th, born in 1881, was Wendell Oliver, father of Allen and George.

George Forrester Davidson's Ancestral Succession

Judge James Fulton born 1739, died 1826 married 1770	—	Margaret Campbell born 1754, died 1833
William Davidson born 1796, died 1839 married 1826	—	Hannah Fulton born 1794, died 1849
James William Davidson born 1832, died 1915 married 1857	—	Rebecca O'Brien born 1840, died 1920
Wendell Oliver Davidson born 1881, died 1947 married 1905	—	Emma Jane Sullivan born 1885, died 1909

George Forrester Davidson
born 1909, died 1995

Source: The Fulton Family of Atlantic Canada, 1979.

It is important to supplement the above chart with a list of Wendell Oliver's brothers and sisters – the aunts and uncles of Allen and George – many of whom played important roles in the lives of the two boys:

Aunts and Uncles of Allen and George Davidson

Given Names	Born
Augusta Jane	1859
George Creelman	1860
Fred M.	1861
Adelaide	1864
William V.	1865
Catherine (Cassie)	1868
Lucretia	1869
James O'Brien	1871
Allen Hill	1873
Margaret	1875
Alexander (Sandy) Forrester	1876
Mary Ethel	1878
Edna Brown	1882

George Davidson had incontestable Bass River roots, and the nature of his heritage was reinforced by his childhood surroundings. He lived in one of the well-constructed two-story houses that lined the three or four main streets of the community. It was near the river, the furniture factory, the public school, the Methodist church and other churches, and the general store. The latter carried the range of goods that were needed by townspeople, farmers and school children as well as tourists attracted by Bass River's fame for manufacturing furniture.

The well-earned repute of Bass River and Little Bass River was based on the enterprising capacity and workmanship of its citizens. These were manifested in turning the forests into useable and saleable products. The most dramatic was the building of boats, notably the *Minas King*, a three-top-mast schooner built in 1918 in Little Bass

River. Her maiden voyage was to Cuba and Turks Island, and thereafter she made several trips to England as well as New York, variously bearing cargoes of potatoes, salt, lumber and coal.[3] She was a late example of the tall sailing ships that had made Nova Scotian seamanship famous for a century and a half. The building of the ship, a short hike down the road from the Davidson residence, meant that Allen and George would have seen at first hand the continuing evidence of the seafaring greatness of their native Nova Scotia – evidence soon confirmed by the *Bluenose*, launched from Lunenburg in 1921 and renowned as a working fishing schooner that also raced triumphantly against all comers for nearly 20 years.

The production of furniture was less romantic than the building of boats, but it was the mainstay of the Bass River economy for over a century. The story of furniture making in Bass River begins in 1860 when a dam was built across the river, the first mill constructed, and a manufacturing company formed by two great-grandsons of Judge James Fulton, George (Chairmaker George) and William. The name of the company changed several times over the next hundred years and the mill burned down six times: in 1885, 1892, 1909, 1940, 1948 and 1989. After all but the last of those fires, the factory was rapidly rebuilt and operated with increased efficiency.

The company was managed and staffed by the people of Bass River, with a workforce that included not only men and boys but also women, who caned the seats and backs of the hundreds of thousands of chairs the factory produced. The productivity was astonishing. In the 10-year period from the mid-1880s to the mid-1890s, over 500,000 chairs were built. And in 1918 alone, although wood was in short supply, 80,000 chairs were produced. In addition to chairs, the plant, in later years, supplied desks for schools throughout the Atlantic provinces.

Members of the Davidson family were part of this remarkable enterprise. Levi Davidson was among the early directors of the firm, and George's grandfather James William Davidson served as a manager. There was also a close connection with the Creelman family. The most prominent member of the family was James Starett Creelman. He was the builder of the *Minas King* and the major shareholder and senior executive of the chair factory, and he had business interests in the United States and as far west as British Columbia. An earlier Creelman had the given names "Karl Marx." Apparently unhampered by his name, he travelled around the world at the turn of the 20th century on his Red Bird bicycle. The young Davidsons were not encouraged to emulate that feat.

A Creelman cousin with whom George was reunited in the 1990s was Lyle Creelman, OC, LLD, a nursing leader who served in many senior capacities in British Columbia before being recruited to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. She then served as the Chief Nursing Officer in the World Health Organization, where her contributions to international health were widely acclaimed. She recalled, as a young girl living near Bass River, the Davidsons stopping to say goodbye as they were leaving for British Columbia. A year later, Lyle's branch of the Creelman connection also moved to the west coast.

Not every community in Nova Scotia was as fortunate as Bass River in its economic circumstance, the quality of its workforce and the entrepreneurship of its managers. Had the Davidson boys grown up, for example, in some of the communities in Cape Breton that were unprotected victims of the whims of the market, their perceptions of the working world might have been markedly different.

They grew up in an intellectually stimulating environment. Teachers and clergy had honoured places in the life of community. Bass River also profited from the proximity of Truro, where the boys' aunts, Cassie and Lucretia, attended the normal school founded by Dr. Alexander Forrester. That George would carry as his second given name that of a figure who was Truro's foremost intellectual and moral leader was felicitous and may have been inspirational.

Hardly less important were the historic and continuing connections with Boston – a place which Bass River citizens visited in unending number. That the given names of George's father, though in reverse order, were borrowed from the eminent Bostonian, Oliver Wendell Holmes, seems incontestable. Famous throughout the English-speaking world for his wit and erudition, Oliver Wendell Holmes provided James William Davidson and his wife, Rebecca O'Brien, a more imaginative solution to what to name their 13th child than they had found respecting the first 12.

If they hoped that Wendell Oliver would have a professional career, their wishes were not met. Wendell did not make his way into a profession. Rather, he worked in the general store until, in his late 20s, a crippling illness confined him to home for the rest of his life. He focused his aspirations on the education of his children, placing rigorous intellectual demands on both Allen and George but especially on George, whose gifted mind was soon revealed. He taught the boys at home from their earliest years and, though sending them to the local school (George, at five, to the third grade), he insisted that they supplement their studies there with daily assignments that they must complete before returning home. Their leisure time was also circumscribed and they were kept close to home. One nearby activity, made possible by the high tides that rolled into the marsh behind the Davidson house, was the collection of kelp, which the boys were able to sell in the village.

The boys were limited, as well, in their activities with other children, but they were allowed to play with the two Thompson girls from across the road. They were somewhat older than George, but he and the younger of the two, Illyria, decided that they would marry when they grew up! She and her older sister, Hazel, were sad when the Davidsons left for British Columbia, escorted on the first stage of the rail journey to Montreal by their father, Captain Edson Everett Thompson.

A further characteristic of Bass River society that was crucial in the upbringing of the Davidson boys was the solidarity of extended family relationships. It had been exemplified in the help Wendell received from sisters, cousins and aunts when his wife, Emma, had died just a month after George was born. The first to come was Martha O'Brien, an older cousin from Boston, who remained for two years. She was succeeded by other aunts from the Davidson side of the family: Cassie, Mary and Lucretia. This pattern of family linkages and support would continue during all of the family's British Columbia years.

■ Chapter 3

The New Westminster Years

(1919–1924)

What did the Davidsons find when they arrived in New Westminster, British Columbia, in 1919 and entered the life of that community? What similarities and what differences did they discover as they compared it with Bass River and Colchester County, Nova Scotia?

Differences in the two communities would have been more to the fore than similarities. Bass River was a village with a population that had hardly changed in number or character for over half a century. New Westminster was a city of 18,000 persons, drawn from many parts of the continent and of the Orient, confident that their future on the west coast of Canada was one of enhanced and enduring opportunity.

New Westminster had a shorter but more turbulent history than Bass River. Located on the Fraser River, it owed its birth to the discovery of gold in the sandbars of the river in the late 1850s. This was the first of several findings further up the Fraser and in other inland streams and rivers that brought thousands of gold seekers from around the world, notably from the fading gold rushes in Australia and California.

Britain had responded to the threat this unruly influx posed to its imperial ownership of the west coast of British North America by phasing out the jurisdiction of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC). In addition to the fur trade, its primary purpose, the HBC had, for nearly two centuries, provided de facto government of the vast territory stretching westward from the namesake bay where its first posts had been established in the late 1600s.

Between 1850 and the mid-1860s, the British government brought two new colonies into being: one was Vancouver Island, with Victoria as its capital; the other was the whole region stretching west of the Rocky Mountains to the coast. This was given the name "British Columbia" by Queen Victoria, who also named the newly created community that was to be its capital. This was New Westminster, which, with this exalted honour, felt entitled in perpetuity to call itself the Royal City. When the two colonies were combined in 1866, "British Columbia" became the name of the new political entity and, initially, New Westminster was its capital.

To its anger and frustration, New Westminster lost that status to Victoria in 1868. This was the first of two disappointments suffered by the city. The second was the unstoppable development of Vancouver, which had been a tiny settlement on Burrard Inlet until, in 1886, it became the terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway and its future as a Pacific coast metropolis was assured.

Notwithstanding these losses, New Westminster continued to build on the considerable advantages of its setting and the quality of the people it had attracted.

The site for the Royal City had been chosen for strategic reasons on ground rising from the north side of the Fraser River, some 15 miles from the Pacific Ocean via the Gulf of Georgia. It was laid out by the Royal Engineers under the enthusiastic direction of its Colonel, Richard Clement Moody. Colonel Moody saw the site as having "great facilities for communication by water, as well as by future great trunk railways into the interior." He was committed to it having "squares and terraces" that would appropriately adorn a capital city.[4]

It was the good fortune of Wendell Davidson and the boys, on their arrival in New Westminster, to have as their first, and then their more permanent residence, homes overlooking one of the city's many squares and terraces – Moody Park.

The points of positive comparison that the Davidsons found between their new and their former community were numerous and important. Like Bass River in its early days, the site chosen for New Westminster was heavily forested. It was appropriately described as primeval forest, being "covered with magnificent fir, cedar, hemlock and spruce, some 250 feet high and 27 feet in diameter."[5] That its hinterland, like that of Bass River, would provide a prolonged supply of timber for processing and export would have been recognized by the newly arrived Davidsons.

Moreover, the Fraser River, widening to its delta as it approached the ocean, gave the community access to the world and made possible shipbuilding, other maritime industries, and fishing enterprises that bore similarities to those of Minos Basin and Cobequid Bay. The effects of ocean tides on the two communities, however, were far different: hardly perceptible in New Westminster; the highest in the world in the Bay of Fundy and its associated bays and inlets.

There were both similarities and differences in the people the Davidsons had known in the past and those found in their new surroundings. The more diversified, more cosmopolitan makeup of New Westminster has been noted but it should not be over stressed. In commenting on the early residents of New Westminster and contrasting them with those who composed the core grouping in Victoria, renowned British Columbia historian Margaret Ormsby stated that

> New Westminster . . . had a political heritage that was Canadian. Many of its merchants, day labourers and speculators had come from Upper Canada and from Nova Scotia, where they had been brought up on farms or in country manses or in the small town homes of doctors, lawyers and journalists. Despising class privilege, they instinctively disliked the greater sophistication of the English element in Victoria . . .. They demanded an opportunity for economic advancement and they saw that this could best be gained by acquiring land and government representation.[6]

In respect to the latter, each of the two Canadian jurisdictions mentioned, Ontario and Nova Scotia, had strong traditions of representative government. Nova Scotia, under the leadership of Joseph Howe, was famed as the first British colony to achieve responsible government, and Ontario was noted for the creation of strong municipal governments. Not surprisingly, as early as 1860 the governor of the colony of British Columbia "yielded to popular demand and incorporated the city of New Westminster."[7]

The municipal government of New Westminster took charge of its destiny with competence and vigour. The city survived a severe fire (1898), fluctuating economic conditions, and the demands of World War I. These were met both by substantial contributions to the Canadian armed forces (notably represented by the Duke of Connaught's Own Rifles) and by commercial and industrial production, especially evident in the building of ships for wartime and peacetime purposes.

In 1919, New Westminster's prospects for the future were mixed. On the negative side was the economic slowdown in most of Canada. Among its results was widespread labour unrest, most vividly seen in the Winnipeg general strike of 1920 and in sympathetic strikes that erupted in centres from Amherst, N.S. to Victoria, B.C.

New Westminster was able to escape the worst rigours of the post-war depression because of its advantageous location. The city could claim status as the only freshwater tidal port on the Pacific coast, to the enjoyment of "climatic conditions like those of southern Europe," and to unrivalled communication linkages – to other parts of Canada, to the United States, to Vancouver through three electric railway connections, and to the Fraser Valley – one of the most fertile agricultural areas in the world – by a 65-mile-long railway.

Contributing to its economic advance were the success of salmon canning plants along the Fraser and the expansion of the area's major industry, lumbering. The latter was made possible by the advent, in

1920, of the Panama Canal, which opened the market for B.C. timber on the east coast of North America and beyond.

In describing itself to the outside world, New Westminster constantly referred to its other attractions. These included a free (Carnegie) library, a cathedral, 20 churches, two hospitals, good elementary schools and high schools, colleges, an armoury, several parks, two cinemas and the Opera House (a theatre for drama and music), a newspaper (the *Columbian*, which had been published since the 1860s), four fire stations, exhibition buildings, the provincial mental hospital, and the Dominion penitentiary. The city was especially proud of its exhibition facilities, in which the annual exhibition, "the best in the west," was staged. This was a showplace for the province at large, including the agricultural bounty of the Fraser Valley and the Okanagan, as well as numerous other displays of the province's commercial and cultural life.

It was schools, the library, the newspaper, and one of the fire halls that had the most direct connection with the lives of Wendell, Allen and George Davidson. The fire halls, or rather Fire Hall No. 2, was important because it was there that Alexander (Sandy) Forrester Davidson, one of Wendell's older brothers, was employed as assistant fire chief. It was he and his wife, Eunice, who welcomed Wendell and the boys to their home at 630 10th Street and thereafter helped them acquire the house next door (628), where they lived during the boys' school years in New Westminster.

The New Westminster schools were important not only for the education of Allen and George but also for the employment they offered to Edna, Wendell's closest sister, who moved into their residence and served as breadwinner and caregiver to both Wendell and the boys. She was the Aunt Edna who George so much admired over the years for her many qualities, including her sense of fairness and integrity. These resulted in her dismissal from the school system during World War II when she voiced her opposition to the uprooting of the Japanese.

For two years George attended the Lord Lister Public School, named after Baron Joseph Lister, the British doctor whose contributions to scientific medicine won him a peerage in 1897 and worldwide renown. George then joined Allen at the high school named after the 10th Governor General of Canada (1911–1916), His Royal Highness, the Prince Arthur, Field Marshall Duke of Connaught. The point that the Duke had been the third and favourite son of Queen Victoria was probably conveyed to the students of the Duke of Connaught High School along with the sound education that prepared both Allen and George for outstanding university careers.

George enrolled in the Latin and French option, developing the basis for his later fluency in French and his love of Latin. In the Latin class he had a model, Dr. R.A. Little, the principal of the school, who conveyed his enthusiasm for Latin to his brilliant student.

During his final year in high school, George displayed an early instance of his maturity, self-confidence and ready command of knowledge. When the history teacher, his Aunt Edna, fell ill, she turned her role over to George, briefing him in the evening on the lesson for the following day.

Wendell continued his severe insistence on high academic performance, but he could no longer exercise the degree of control over the boys' lives that had been the rule in Bass River. They were now older and had more support from their extended family. Alexander and Eunice had four children: Edna, Gordon, Esther and James. George and Allen bonded closely with their cousins, notably, with Edna, with whom George retained friendship throughout her lifetime. In addition, the boys were adding to the family income through paper routes – delivering the *Columbian* – a newspaper claiming coverage of nearly all of New Westminster's 3,000 families.

The boys were also able to enjoy normal friendships and, although not themselves taking much part in athletics, found at least spectator enjoyment in sporting events in Moody Park and elsewhere that included baseball, soccer and lacrosse. The last-mentioned brought fame to the city through the prowess of its award-winning team, the New Westminster Salmon Bellies. The boys also enjoyed the excitement of the annual exhibition and another of New Westminster's events, the selection of a school girl, no older than 14 years, to be the May Queen. Next to the exhibition, this was the celebration of the year, bringing throngs from far and wide to this flower-festooned event. Allen and George had seen nothing like it in Bass River, or in all of Colchester County.

The crowning event of George's years in New Westminster was his recognition as one of the five province-wide winners of His Excellency the Governor General's Silver Medal for matriculation in 1924. With an academic average of 87.6%, his entrance to the University of British Columbia was assured.

■ Chapter 4

The University of British Columbia

(1924–1928)

When George Forrester Davidson, at the age of 15, entered the University of British Columbia in the autumn of 1924, it was to the university's Tenth Session. UBC's first formal session was that of 1915–16, but the beginnings of the university extended back at least to the 1890s. Two forward leaps were made, one in 1907 when the provincial legislature passed the *University Endowment Act*, granting two million acres as an endowment for a provincial university, and the second, in 1908, when 250 acres were designated as the university's prospective location. They were at the western end of Vancouver's Point Grey suburb, and consisted of an undeveloped woodland overlooking Burrard Inlet and the Strait of Georgia, some 12 kilometres west of the city centre.

Important planning decisions, both of an architectural and administrative nature, were made in the ensuing years. A well-conceived plan for the university was drawn up and tentatively approved in 1912, salary levels for professors that would "place the university on an equality with the best universities of America" were proposed, instruction was to be "free to all regular students matriculated in the university," and women students were to have "equality of opportunity of privilege with men students."[8]

Limited funding stood in the way of developing the Point Grey campus, especially during the war years, 1914–1918. The university was fortunate, however, in being able to take over the existing post-secondary educational program that had been established by McGill University: the McGill University College of British Columbia had been established in 1908, housed in one permanent structure that had served as a component of what would become the Vancouver General Hospital and in three or four other temporary buildings. They were located in Fairview, a Vancouver subdivision sloping northward to False Creek, the inlet from the Pacific Ocean that separated it from the city centre. The space the buildings occupied – one city block west to east and two blocks north to south – was the Fairview Campus of UBC from 1915 to 1925. The location had some significant advantages. Fairview was a well-developed residential neighbourhood with many facilities that included churches, schools and one of the two provincial normal schools for the training of teachers.

With the generous cooperation of McGill University, UBC took over the existing premises, faculty and curriculum, and was able to make remarkable progress during the Fairview years. To its initial faculties of Arts and Science it added a Department of Nursing (the first university-based nursing program in the British Empire) and a Faculty of Agriculture. It also continued to recruit faculty, attracting a distinguished corps of scholars and academic leaders.

A less positive factor was the adequacy, or rather the inadequacy, of the facilities as the size of the student body increased. When the number reached 1,200 and progress in developing the Point Grey campus seemed painfully slow, the students, in 1923, organized their historic trek to the Point Grey site. Its centrepiece was a float bearing a huge mock-up of a sardine can, dramatizing the unbearably cramped quarters at Fairview.

The protest may have accelerated construction because two years later the move took place. The front page of the 1924 *Totem*, the students' annual graduation journal, showed a picture of the Fairview site and this inscription: "To these pitiful old buildings in Fairview, which have received so much abuse and given so much pleasure, this Annual, the last to be edited within their walls is dedicated."[9]

The less pleasurable side of Fairview was also reflected in an address given by George Davidson in 1951 when he returned to UBC to give one of the Bostock lectures. On that occasion, he referred to himself as "one of that hoary band of pioneers who knew the brown wooden shacks and crowded quarters of this University's Fairview days." His class, the class of 28, "was the last to enjoy the memorable experience of breathing in wisdom heavily laden with disinfectant." When the students first assembled in the new Point Grey Auditorium, the pleasure was somewhat diminished by their having to sit on the floor: "seats had not yet been installed." He continued his reminiscences by recalling that he had given "my first – and indeed my last and only political speech . . . in support of some now forgotten candidate for students council." He went on to say that he still remembered "that as I marched down the aisle towards the platform, my brother beat a hasty and determined retreat towards the nearest exit."[10]

Allen had entered UBC in 1923. He graduated in 1926, then opted for medical education at the University of Alberta. Allen's graduation "obit" in the 1926 *Totem* refers to his participation in basketball and track, being "a prominent member of our class for the past four years . . . attending numerous social functions and finding time to obtain good marks in a pre-medical course."[11]

In George's case, having three of his four years at the new campus made it possible for him to enter more fully than did Allen into the life of the university. Though taking no significant part in UBC's extensive athletic programs, he was clearly a leader in other high-profile parts of the life of the university: the Classics Club and the *Ubyssey*, the student newspaper.

George's participation in the Classics Club reflected the core of his academic interests: languages, both ancient and modern. He was to excel and, in different years, to win awards in English and French and in Latin and Greek. He presented papers at Classics Club meetings that included "Julius Caesar" and "The Literary Circle of Augustus." As the club's secretary-treasurer he had dealings with the student members as well as its honorary presidents, who included Professor Lemuel Robertson, Dr. O.J. Todd and Professor Harry Logan, all of whom strengthened his love of the classics and his wish to undertake further classical studies.

Ubyssey, the student newspaper that was the launching pad for a number of Canada's most renowned authors, including Earle Birney, Eric Nichol, Lister Sinclair and Pierre Berton, was one of George's special interests. From lesser roles he became an associate editor in 1926–27 and a senior editor in 1928. By that time, *Ubyssey* produced editions twice a week, on Tuesdays and Fridays, and George had the principal responsibility for the Friday issue.

One of his *Ubyssey* contemporaries, writing in the manner of student journalism about George's editorial style, commented that

> the air of dignity which marks his [Friday] issue may be accounted for by his Ciceronian gravity and the extent of his classical knowledge. George anxiously watches over the fortunes of his issue to see that no "giddy" departures disturb its highly respectable tone. A general attitude and conviction of the efficacy of praise and the hopelessness of criticism "anyway" have lent an air of paternal cheerfulness to his editorials.[12]

This assessment of George's editorials is borne out in two examples. In one, commenting on the high failure rate on the first term examinations, the editorial reads:

> The intelligence and effort required to keep one's work up to the average standard is not particularly great. If every student had the will power to exert himself even to that degree we would not have this disgraceful list of failures with which we are now faced.[13]

In what was George's last editorial in the final edition of the 1927–28 academic year, there is a confirming reflection of the "air of paternal cheerfulness" noted as the hallmark of his editorial style.

> Therefore if our homiletic disbursements have fallen on unkind or deaf ears it matters little, since we have "had our opinions and printed them." For our readers in saying farewell, we have this kindly wish: may they be just as successful in their coming examinations as we intend to be.[14]

George Davidson who, with maturity would shed his youthful paternalism, was clearly at home in his academic surroundings. He was blessed with good looks, "the youthful fashion plate" as one of his *Ubyssey* colleagues described him,[15] and with the fine intelligence first demonstrated at matriculation and then borne out in his academic awards. In his third year he won three: the McGill Graduates Scholarship ($137.50), the University Scholarship ($75.00) and the Shaw Memorial Scholarship ($137.50). Because the rules permitted a student to retain only one award, George opted for the McGill Graduates Scholarship, the others going to the next in line.

In his final year he won the University Scholarship for General Proficiency. It conferred both prestige and money, some $200.00 – a not inconsiderable sum in the mid-1920s.

His undergraduate period provided George Davidson with more than scope for his academic and student achievements. When, following his years at Harvard he returned to British Columbia, and later when he served at the national level in Ottawa and internationally in New York, his career and life in general were enriched by persons he had come to know during his student days. His contemporaries included Kaye Lamb, destined to become National Librarian and Archivist; Dal Grauer, who contributed to policy development in wartime Ottawa before returning to carry entrepreneurial roles in British Columbia, including the presidency of B.C. Hydro; Hugh Keenleyside, whose extensive career, like that of George Davidson, included becoming a deputy minister of a department of the federal government and attaining a senior role in the United Nations; James Sinclair, whose career in federal politics followed a role in the public service of British Columbia that linked him with George Davidson; Donald, John and Ralph Farris, each of whom had, like George Davidson, attended Harvard and thereafter constituted influential contacts for George in Vancouver society; Harry Cassidy, who was to become a key figure in George Davidson's advancing career in British Columbia and whose fine record at UBC included the editorship of the *Ubyssey* and victory as the colleague of Dal Grauer in an international debate with a team from Berkeley, California.

Because women students were involved in every aspect of student life, George Davidson had many contacts, amongst them: Margaret Ormsby, famed for her studies of the history of British Columbia; Flora Hurst, a social welfare researcher who was recruited to the Research Division of the Department of National Health and Welfare soon after George Davidson became one of its two deputy ministers; Jean Tolmie, presumably a friendly rival, who often seemed to be one step ahead of George Davidson, having a higher average in the matriculation standings that won them Governor General's medals in 1924, winning a comparable number of awards in their final UBC year, and holding more senior posts on the *Ubyssey*, becoming editor-in-chief, the first woman to hold that renowned post.

Also a student during George's last two years was Ruth Henderson. She was described in her obit in the *Totem* as "having many attractions of a lofty nature, a most sincere and pleasing disposition and an interest in all Varsity affairs."[16] Her major was in economics and mathematics, and it was to a teaching position in those areas at Kitsilano High School in Vancouver that she went following UBC. She continued in that role until her marriage in the summer of 1935 – an event more fully described in a later chapter.

The obvious question of how George Davidson's UBC years were financed and how he could proceed to post-graduate studies is again answered by the generosity of the extended Davidson family. During part of his UBC years, George continued to live in New Westminster with his father and Allen, with the care and support of his uncle Sandy, the fire chief, and more particularly from Sandy's wife, Eunice, and from his aunt Edna, the teacher who had played an important role in his high school years.

No less important was George's Aunt Lucretia. Like her sister Edna, she had received a teacher's certificate in Truro and had been a teacher for some years in New Westminster before securing a position in 1925 in Vancouver. She was then able to offer George accommodation for the last three of his UBC years in her apartment conveniently situated not far from the Fairview campus and on good transportation routes to the Point Grey campus.

Lucretia Davidson possessed the family traits of intelligence and initiative. This served her well when she appealed against the promotion of a man with inferior qualifications to hers to the principalship of the school where she was teaching: she won the appeal and the appointment.

George made Aunt Lucretia the beneficiary of an insurance policy he purchased before he left for Harvard, to ensure that she would receive payment of her extensive loans should he die before he could repay them.

Members of the extended Davidson family in New Westminster and Vancouver formed close bonds of kinship and provided tangible support in various ways. An example was the help with George's travel across the continent to Harvard, provided by James Herbert Davidson, an employee of the Canadian Pacific Railway, who helped him secure free passage contingent on his performing surveillance duties on bonded trains transporting Chinese labourers to the east coast.

When George graduated at UBC's spring convocation in 1928, at the age of 19, it was a matter of pride and satisfaction to his Davidson kin who had contributed so substantially to his achievement. A good measure of credit must be assigned to his father, Wendell, who had helped instill sound scholarly habits. Wendell's health continued to deteriorate with a degenerative disease, probably what came to be known as Lou Gehrig's disease, amyotrophic lateral sclerosis. Wendell lived until 1947 and was thus to learn of George's many achievements, but few would have given him more satisfaction than George's graduation with honours from UBC, with the promise it held of a distinguished career in whatever his chosen field might be.

■ Chapter 5

The Harvard Years and Post-Doctoral Travel (1928–1933)

George Davidson's four years at Harvard, together with a year of scholarly travel in Europe, would provide a remarkably propitious base for a career of service in human affairs.

His arrival in the United States in 1928 gave George Davidson a view of the peak of the post-war boom in the American economy. Calvin Coolidge, the Republican president of the United States from 1923 to 1929, was enormously pleased with America and would boast that the country could "regard the present with satisfaction and anticipate the future with optimism."[17] A more balanced assessment was that of Francis Bowes Sayre in the *Atlantic Monthly* (July 1929): "Seldom in her history has America seemed to enjoy such serene security as now. Prosperous beyond her dreams, conscious of a power to shape the world such as perhaps no nation has enjoyed before, she seems to sail at the very crest of the waves, yet seldom in her history have the undercurrents of danger been running as at present."[18]

Among the undercurrents of danger were the inherent defects of uncontrolled capitalism and stresses in society reflected in movements such as the Ku Klux Klan, which denounced Negroes, bootleggers, Jews, pacifists, internationalists, Catholics and evolutionists, and which, at its height in 1925, had some five million members.

The fatal flaws in unfettered capitalism were to be painfully revealed in the Black Thursday collapse of the stock market in October 1929. It was followed by the bleak years of the Depression that, for a whole decade, cast a shadow over many aspects of life in America and far beyond. President Herbert Hoover, who came to power some months before the collapse of the economy, proved powerless, for the whole of his four-year term, to arrest the decline in the industrial and social life of the nation. By early 1933, when unemployment surpassed 13 million, the country appeared on the brink of revolution.

There had been, however, sufficient faith in the traditional political system for some 40 million citizens to vote in the 1932 election, a large majority supporting the Democratic candidate, Franklin Delano Roosevelt. His announced objectives of "relief, recovery and reform" offered a beacon of hope. Before his inauguration in 1933, however, most of the country's banks had failed and social unrest was at a dangerous level. This opened the path for Roosevelt's New Deal, with its increasing use of the power of government to rescue the economy and the scores of millions of citizens who had been its victims. The first stages of the New Deal were underway while George Davidson was travelling in Europe.

It was not surprising that George had aspired to live in Boston and attend Harvard. Long before his years at UBC and the influence there of his classics professors, his Bass River relatives knew of many friends who had migrated to the Boston area and some who had attended Harvard.

Another more speculative influence may have stemmed from the action of George's grandparents in naming his father Wendell Oliver. Throughout his life, George would have known of the career in literature and medicine of the senior Oliver Wendell Holmes, and also of his son and no less distinguished namesake, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes who, at age 91, resigned from the Supreme Court of the United States in the year that George graduated from Harvard. That these renowned figures were strongly identified both with Boston and Harvard would have been imprinted on George's mind from an early age.

When George arrived in Boston, or, more precisely, in Cambridge, the contiguous community dominated by three universities (Harvard; Radcliffe, the associated women's university; and MIT, the

Massachusetts Institute of Technology), he was able to find congenial boarding care on Mellen Street, immediately adjacent to the campus. He shared the accommodation with a fellow student whom he had met while travelling by ship from Halifax to Boston.

His academic work went as smoothly as it had at UBC: he attained an MA degree in 1930 and a PhD in 1932. Classics enjoyed high status at Harvard, and with his gifted mind and good study habits, George proceeded easily to his doctorate. His thesis on the Greek dramatists, Euripides and Menander, written in Latin, carried the endorsement of two noted members of his doctoral committee, Professor Chandler Rathfon Post and Assistant Professor Milman Parry. The former had held academic posts in English, French, Latin and Greek as well as Fine Arts, becoming, in the 1930s, the William Dorr Boardman Professor of Fine Arts. Dr. Parry, whose doctorate was from the University of Paris, was the major instructor in Greek and Latin, the two languages that formed the core of George's studies. George had to gain familiarity, as well, with the romance languages and German. Clearly, his studies and interests extended beyond a narrowly defined classics degree.

His status was such that he acquired office space in University Hall and there was evidence that he had achieved comfortable, almost collegial, relations with a number of his professors. He would recount, in later years, that when he presented himself to the professor of German for an oral examination in German, the entire session was an animated discussion in English: his competence in German, it seemed, was assumed rather than tested. Two further indications of his standing at Harvard were his award of a Frederick Sheldon Traveling Fellowship for travel in Europe and a prospective appointment as an instructor in Greek and Latin.

There was more to being at Harvard for George Davidson than his studies and associations in the Division of Ancient Languages. When he arrived in 1928, Harvard was beginning to plan for its tricentennial celebrations in 1936, and George shared his fellow students' pride in

Harvard's accomplishments, the fame of its graduates, and the contributions of its scholarship to many aspects of human civilization.

George Davidson's time at Harvard coincided with the last years of the Lowell presidency, which extended from 1909 to 1933. Abbott Lawrence Lowell, described as a "Boston Brahmin," had skillfully directed the university during World War I and through the hardly less difficult post-war years.

When Lowell assumed the presidency of Harvard he found that the "university," or graduate component, which had been emphasized by his predecessor, President Charles Eliot, was strong. The "college" or undergraduate component, however, had been neglected and was weak both in scholarship and social values. One observer wrote that Harvard at the end of the Eliot era had become "a social orphan asylum."[19] President Lowell, having studied and admired the social and academic systems of English universities, notably Oxford, adopted measures to improve undergraduate scholarship that included the "concentration and distribution" model and the residential-college system. The latter involved students living in "Houses" with a dining hall and common room and live-in tutors to provide academic and social guidance.

Although George Davidson, as a graduate student, was not directly involved in these endeavours, all of Harvard benefited from the higher academic performance and social gains they produced. If it were true that President Lowell wanted "Harvard to become the university that turned out a gentlemanly ruling elite,"[20] such an objective would not have been out of harmony with George Davidson's view of what a university education should achieve.

Harvard gained, as well, from Lowell's staunch protection of academic freedom. He refused to bow to alumni and public pressure to dismiss a German professor during the war and resisted the hysterical fear of Bolshevism and anarchism in the post-war period. This had erupted into demands for the dismissal of Professor Zacariah Chafee Jr.

concerning an article he had written and Assistant Professor Harold Laski for speeches he had given. Lowell asserted that if the Overseers "ask for Laski's resignation they will get mine."[21]

However, Lowell's record, in the view of many, was flawed in the role he played in the infamous Sacco-Vanzetti case. This was a murder trial conducted in Boston in 1920 in which two Italian labourers were accused of murdering a factory paymaster and his guard. Their conviction and the attempts to have it reversed extended over seven years and attracted national and international attention. This was because of the widely held belief that the defendants were convicted for their radical, anarchist beliefs rather than for the crime for which they were being tried. To deal with the troublesome controversy the governor of Massachusetts appointed a review committee of three eminent persons, headed by President Lowell. The committee declined to challenge the jury's decision or recommend clemency, and the death penalty was carried out in August 1927.

This was before George Davidson arrived at Harvard but the Sacco-Vanzetti issue remained in the public domain for many years. In 1928 it was highlighted in the publication of the two-volume book *Boston* by the prolific writer and political activist Upton Sinclair. Together with his other works, Sinclair's analysis of the influence of big business and its ultra-conservative allies on education, religion and the law courts made an impact on the consciousness of students, especially after the economic collapse in 1929.

However, American society, even as it descended into deep economic depression, was rich and varied and offered much that was pleasant and stimulating to George in his Harvard years. Motion pictures were increasingly to the fore, with some performers, such as Greta Garbo, successfully making the transition from silent films to "talkies" and Mickey Mouse appearing in the first sound cartoon in 1928. Radio was gaining prominence in daily life in America. Hundreds of thousands tuned in to "Amos 'n' Andy" every weeknight at nine, listened to descriptions of sporting contests, and followed on-the-spot news reports, and, to a lesser extent, the numerous commentaries on national and international issues.

Attendance was high at sporting events, and record numbers of listeners followed play-by-play on radio. Of special note were the sports heroes and championship teams: Gene Tunney, who retired in 1928 from heavyweight boxing after twice defeating long-time champion Jack Dempsey; Babe Ruth in 1929 hitting his 500th major league home run; the Boston Bruins, in the same year, winning hockey's Stanley Cup; Bobby Jones crowning his career in 1930 by winning all four of the world's most difficult golfing titles; and also in 1930, at a somewhat lower level of general interest, Harvard "blanking" Yale 13–0 in the annual football contest.

Popular literature exemplified by the *Saturday Evening Post, Liberty* and *Colliers* gave an upbeat picture of contemporary life, while the *New Republic* and the *Atlantic Monthly* and writers such as Scott Fitzgerald, Sinclair Lewis, John Dos Passos and Upton Sinclair provided more sober views of post-war America.

From much earlier than he knew that he would be travelling in Europe in 1932–33, George Davidson would have learned of the ominous march of events in that troubled continent. By 1928 Mussolini had consolidated his dictatorial control of Italy and was preparing his grandiose plans for imperialist conquests of European neighbours and North Africa. The rise of Hitler in Germany was viewed with dismay by the Allies of the Great War. By 1932 he had created the mass following with which in 1933 he would attain total power over the German state. These depressing events, their causes and their prospects had received increasing attention from both faculty and students, and through the penetrating analysis of both domestic and foreign affairs by one of Harvard's most distinguished graduates, the columnist, editor and author Walter Lippman.

George Davidson left for Europe, however, with the confidence of a young person who had achieved success in his academic work, had strong language skills, and possessed, as well, a classicist's ability to view modern history against a rich knowledge of the rise and fall of ancient empires. Harvard and his experience of life and learning in America had served him well for his year of travel and for the career that lay beyond.

Nothing could have delighted George Davidson more than being able "to make the grand tour" like the young English gentlemen who, in countless books and journals, were described as enriching their formal education with visits to the principal cities of Europe.

Greece, Italy and Germany were the main sites for the study tour he planned, with lesser time in Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, France and Britain. He carried with him the Sheldon Fellowship identification commending "him as a notable member of the University to the friendly consideration of all persons to whom he may present this letter."

Greece evoked, in George, his strongest intellectual linkages with the classical past. Though far from enjoying stable government, Greece welcomed visitors from the New World, especially those who revered its cultural heritage.

George was enchanted to find examples of largely intact theatres, open to the sky as they had always been. With his scholarly knowledge of the plays of the classical period, he had only to sit alone on an upper row of an age-old theatre to have unfold before his mind's eye a montage of the comedies of Menander or the more sombre works of Euripides: *Electra, Suppliants, The Trojan Women,* and *Orestes* – perhaps even calling up the bloody climax of *The Bacchae.*

In recalling his Grecian experiences in later years, George Davidson would make the point that even on Mount Olympus one could find linkages between the old world and the new. As he and a companion were making the ascent of the sacred mountain early on a foggy morning, a large and, it seemed, godlike, figure advanced slowly toward them. Were they about to encounter Zeus? Who were they to doubt the belief of thousands that the most senior of the gods still dwelt there? The supposed immortality of the approaching figure was short lived, however. When he heard what he took to be American voices, he challenged them for vital information: were the Brooklyn Dodgers in the pennant race?

George was especially drawn to Rome, where he could carry his imagination back to the events touched on in his papers for the Classics Club at UBC, two of which dealt respectively with Julius Caesar and Augustus Caesar. His reflections would invite disparaging comparisons as he viewed the attempts of Mussolini to be accepted as the new Caesar who would resurrect the Roman Empire of classical times – maps of which were everywhere on public display. If, in the real world of Italian life, George had presented his Sheldon credentials, he would have found demoralized universities. In 1931 their faculties had been required to take oaths of loyalty to the Fascist regime. As one of the last segments of Italian society to be brought to submission, their members had to succumb or face a range of penalties that included the firing squad. Unlike the internationally renowned Arturo Toscanini, who would refuse to play the Fascist anthem, they had no escape.

Mussolini had become prime minister in 1922, but it had taken until 1932 before he had subjugated every segment of society and was above the reach of any party or organ of government. To whom from classical times could George Davidson compare him? The emperors who had achieved the status of a god were soon found to be mortal. But in 1932–33 Mussolini was *Il Duce*, his dominance no longer challenged. Though George Davidson, the tourist, would have approved of Rome's mosquito-free environment and the punctuality of the trains, he could not have failed to deplore the loss of human freedom.

George's next destination was Germany, where human freedom was also being extinguished in Hitler's rise to power. By 1932 Hitler had contrived to gain the role of prime minister or chancellor and, following the burning of the parliament buildings, the Reichstag, a frightened legislative body gave him full emergency power. This he used skillfully to create a dictatorship comparable to that of Mussolini but with far greater potential for national and, later, international domination.

George was welcomed to undertake studies at the University of Munich, where he found accommodation with a German family. Munich had played a central role in the rise of Hitler. Thus it was an ideal location for learning about the rise of Nazism, to sense the direction it was taking, and to recognize the threat it held for the free world. Comparison with the other world leader who had been elected in 1932, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, could not have escaped George's mind, particularly as reports were reaching Europe of the beginning effectiveness of Roosevelt's New Deal and the relief it brought to the poor and dispossessed.

George Davidson would have enjoyed the pleasures offered to tourists in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia: the beauty and variety of the countryside, the historic charm of cities such as Prague, Zagreb and Belgrade, and the cultural diversity of the people. He would also, however, have become aware of the extreme administrative complexities, the tensions and instabilities of these two countries, fashioned, as they were, at the end of World War I in an attempt to merge into two nation states peoples with separate, age-old identities and deep-seated hostilities.

Yugoslavia in the early 1930s, having failed to achieve genuine democratic government, had fallen under the royal dictatorship of King Alexander. The country was dominated by Serbia and riven by bureaucratic abuse and police repression.

Czechoslovakia, in spite of its many cultures, national groups and competing ideologies, had fared remarkably well in the 1920s. The Depression, however, saw the collapse of the country's largest banks and the spread of unemployment. In the early 1930s, Czechoslovakia was plagued by the rise of Nazism amongst the German population in the area adjacent to Germany, the Sudetenland. The steps taken by Hitler to annex the region proved to be a stage on his planned domination of Europe. George Davidson, on his visit in 1933, having seen Fascism and Nazism at close quarters, may well have sensed the impending destruction of what had seemed to have been a noble effort to create a new state out of segments of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire.

In contrast to the other states in central Europe, George Davidson found in Switzerland a rare example of a country that had within it at least three national groups, French, German and Italian, that had learned, centuries before, to co-exist and govern themselves harmoniously. Because Switzerland resisted foreign entanglements, it had become the base for numerous international organizations. The prime example was the League of Nations, the organization formed at the end of World War I with the aim of preserving world peace through all nations joining to ensure their collective security. Handicapped from its beginning by the refusal of the United States to join, the League was unable to take effective action against the aggressions of Japan in Manchuria and Italy in Ethiopia. George Davidson would have heard many debates in Canada about the League, which was strongly supported by the influential League of Nations Society. Had he visited the League's headquarters in Geneva after October 1933, he would have learned of Hitler's spectacular withdrawal from and renunciation of the League. He would have recognized it as another lap in the deadly race toward World War II.

George Davidson's travels in France and Britain had less to do with classical scholarship than with the legacy that he, as a Canadian, had gained from Canada's two founding nations. France was making a modest recovery from the low point in the Depression, and though plagued by its long and uneven quest for stable democratic government, the country was withstanding the clash of ideologies from the right and the left within the country and from abroad.

George, with his ability to speak the language, could savour the wonders of Paris, still deservedly enjoying the fame it had achieved in the '20s as the cultural centre of the Western World.

More than if his life had been wholly spent in British Columbia, George would have had an appreciation of the long-term effects of two centuries of British and French imperial rivalries in North America. Bass River, Nova Scotia was not far from evidences of French conquest and settlement; early settlements of the Acadians, before their forced removal, were, indeed, on the edge of Colchester County.

When George Davidson reached England, though thinking of himself as a Canadian, he was, as well, a British subject – a citizen of the British Empire. Being both part of the Empire and also Canadian happened to have a somewhat greater meaning in Britain at the time than might otherwise have been the case. This was because the plan for British Empire Free Trade was being implemented, having been initiated in 1931 by R.B. Bennett, the prime minister of Canada and supported by the Canadian newspaper baron Lord Beaverbrook. George Davidson's scholarly background gave his time in the British Isles more than a tourist's appreciation of the political, cultural and social elements of British life.

The totality of the European tour added immeasurably to the maturing influence of George Davidson's years at Harvard, giving him an enriched understanding of the events that were shaping current world history. Moreover, the insights of a classicist gave them an added meaning that would affect his approach to human affairs throughout all of his later career.

■ Chapter 6

British Columbia (1933–1942)

Victoria: Superintendent of Welfare / Director of Social Welfare

Vancouver: Executive Director, Council of Social Agencies / Welfare Federation

With Harvard and European travel added to his life experience, George Davidson, at age 24, was ready to begin a working career, to assume various leadership roles in the workplace and community, to marry and start a family.

The march of events in the nine years following his return to British Columbia are outlined below: two periods in Victoria with the provincial government, 1933–35 and 1939–42; separated by three years of service in the voluntary sector in Vancouver, 1935–39.

While George Davidson was travelling in Europe, three interrelated events occurred in British Columbia that, by good fortune, would felicitously shape the rest of his life.

The first was the provincial election in November 1933, which decisively disposed of the moribund Government of Simon Fraser Tolmie and brought into power a reformist Liberal Government led by Thomas Dufferin (Duff) Pattullo. In addition, a few members of a new left-wing party, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), were elected and, as the official opposition, reinforced the reformist bent of the new government.

The election of 1933 and its predecessor in 1928 bore elements of similarity to those of the national elections in the United States of 1928 and 1932. The seemingly robust prosperity enjoyed by British

Columbia in 1928 faded after Black Thursday in 1929 as rapidly as it had in the United States, and the Conservative Government of Premier Tolmie had proved to be as incapable of dealing with the problems of the Depression as had that of the staunch Republican, President Hoover, in the United States.

There were also remarkable similarities in the plans and platforms of the winners, Thomas Dufferin Pattullo and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Duff Pattullo, an experienced politician with roots in Liberal politics in Ontario, where he had edited a small-town newspaper, had developed a political philosophy that emphasized the responsibility of government to promote sound economic planning to serve public ends. In the words of historian Margaret Ormsby, "he had arrived at his opinions quite independently of outside influences, but he could not but be struck by their similarity to those of Franklin D. Roosevelt."[22] Pattullo wondered, half seriously, if Roosevelt had been reading his speeches and campaign material!

Although committed to a New Deal comparable to that of the American president, Premier Pattullo was confined to a provincial arena with limited constitutional powers. He was unable to persuade the Canadian prime minister, R.B. Bennett, to adopt, for all of Canada, Keynesian policies of employing deficit financing to promote and sustain development. Though faced with acute financial problems, Pattullo nonetheless took measures to strengthen the economy: he raised the minimum wage, established the 48-hour work week, launched a public works program, and supported advances in social welfare.

Pattullo was fortunate in having, in the Liberal members of the legislature, men of character and ability to appoint to his cabinet. One of his appointments, that of George M. Weir, was the second of the three events that were to be of decisive importance to the career of George Davidson.

Dr. George Weir, a graduate of McGill and Queen's universities with research experience in Ontario, had gained a reputation as an educator in Saskatchewan before being appointed as Professor of Education at UBC in 1924, coincidentally George Davidson's freshman year. He had carried a number of roles beyond his academic responsibilities, a notable example being his *Survey of Nursing Education in Canada*, 1932, which has remained a classic in nursing literature. It recommended that nursing education be provided only by universities.

On his election in 1933 as the member of the legislature for Vancouver Point Grey, Dr. Weir was appointed by the premier to two cabinet positions: Minister of Education and Provincial Secretary. The latter was a catch-all portfolio that included various piecemeal programs in the fields of culture, health and welfare. Dr. Weir, who was to win retrospective recognition for discovering and recruiting brilliant men to key positions, set out at once to make rationally inspired appointments in the areas of his bureaucratic responsibilities.[23]

Dr. Weir discovered George Davidson some time after his return to Vancouver from his European travels. George had faced the disappointment that an appointment to a teaching position at Harvard, though a possibility at a later point, was not available to him for the 1933–34 academic year. Even Harvard, it seemed, was facing financial problems. Similarly, and because of the Tolmie government's severe reduction of support to the provincial university, UBC could offer nothing to their brilliant scholar, now Dr. George Davidson.

So bleak were his prospects that George decided he must take training to secure the teacher's certificate needed for a position in the province's high schools, where both Latin and Greek were still on the curriculum.

Dr. Weir rescued George from that letdown, offering him an appointment in the provincial public service in a new field of endeavour, social welfare. Specifically, he was invited to accept the position of Superintendent of Welfare. That he would be able to carry successfully a role for which he had no "vocationally related" preparation probably would not have struck him or other classicists as questionable. They doubtless subscribed to the elitist view that a classical education had inherent transferability to any noble calling!

Perhaps he was reassured that he would be reporting to another of Dr. Weir's recruits, Dr. Harry Cassidy, who arrived for duty at the same time: for the more senior position of Director of Welfare. The strategic presence of Harry Cassidy constituted the third of the felicitous circumstances having bearing on George Davidson's career. Cassidy was to become a lifelong friend and the central figure in George's work during his first provincial posting.

Cassidy was ideally qualified to be Davidson's guide and social welfare mentor. His biographer described "Cassidy's life and career [as] one long attempt to be actively involved in the field of social welfare and social work."[24] By 1933 he had gone a considerable distance toward that goal, having attained strong academic preparation and a solid linkage with the developing field of social welfare.

Harry Cassidy's early education had points of similarity with that of George. The high school he first attended was near his farm home in British Columbia's Fraser Valley, but for his matriculation year he boarded in New Westminster and attended the Duke of Connaught High School, preceding George's term there by nine years. For the next four years he received education of a very different kind: in the Canadian army, serving in trench warfare in France and then beginning officer training in the Royal Flying Corps before returning to Canada to enter UBC in the fall of 1919.

He enrolled in UBC as an honours student in history and economics, and although his academic record was not quite as outstanding as that achieved later by George, it was highly creditable. He won two awards, graduated with first-class honours in economics and history and was seriously considered for a Rhodes Scholarship. He was, as well, active in many aspects of student life, including athletics and journalism, attaining the prestigious role of editor of the student paper, the *Ubyssey.* He also proved to be an outstanding debater, winning victories for UBC against teams from other universities, including the University of California at Berkeley.

It was to that university, coincidentally, that Cassidy went as a teaching fellow in economics, as the first stage in his post-graduate education. From there, in the fall of 1924, he went to a new university that seemed tailored to his interests and aspirations. It was the Robert Brookings Graduate School of Economics and Government in Washington, DC. The school, which had university status, was designed by its founder to train people for public service and policy research, "to teach the art of handling problems rather than to impart accumulated knowledge . . . to turn out craftsmen who can make contributions to an intelligent direction of social change."[25]

With a PhD from Brookings in September 1926, Dr. Cassidy was ready for full-time university teaching. He received successive appointments at the universities of North Carolina, Rutgers (in New Jersey) and, in 1929, in the Department of Social Science at the University of Toronto.

Cassidy remained at the University of Toronto from 1929 to 1934, when he received the invitation from Dr. Weir to join the public service of the provincial government of British Columbia. His life and work in Toronto extended far beyond the university classroom. His department's program required students to undertake field work in the expanding variety of social welfare agencies in the community. Dr. Cassidy became well informed about social programs locally but his interests, research and participation extended to the provincial and national levels, where the economic and social policies are crafted that determine most of what affects the health and well-being of every member of the community.

With the Canadian economy brutally battered by the Depression, Cassidy became a leading member of an influential group that sought to find solutions to the nation's problems through research, analysis and advocacy. Finding that capitalism seemed unable to deal with the calamitous problems it had created, but rejecting communism as a credible solution, they set out to formulate an approach to a planned economy akin to that of the British Fabians, who sought to achieve a socialist democracy by parliamentary means. This is what Cassidy and his like-minded associates sought to do. Much thought was given to presenting their ideas in various media, and they constituted the somewhat informal group known as the League for Social Reconstruction (LSR). Those associated with LSR were outstanding figures in universities and other callings: F.R. Scott and Leonard Marsh of McGill; Frank Underhill and Cassidy, Toronto; Kenneth Taylor, McMaster; and Eugene Forsey, Graham Spry, Joe Parkinson and King Gordon, from different fields. Cassidy did much of the writing that defined the objectives of the League but, having become a public official, decided against being identified as one of the authors of LSR's major book, *Social Planning for Canada.*

By the time of his appointment in B.C., Cassidy was recognized as an intellectual leader, a foremost writer on labour, unemployment and social administration, and a social scientist with notable skills as a communicator. In his approach to socio-economic reform he questioned the redemptive capacity of capitalism, and supported social and economic planning based on rigorous research, rational and sustained advocacy, and the gradualist reform of the instruments of government. His biographer described him as a Canadian Fabian. (The title of Professor Allan Irving's forthcoming book is *A Canadian Fabian: The Life and Work of Harry Cassidy.*)

Dr. Cassidy, as Canada's leading authority on health and social welfare needs, the policies and programs required to meet them, and the modes of public and voluntary organization required for their optimal performance, was able to offer an informed assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the structures in existence in the Department of the

Provincial Secretary as he and George Davidson took up their respective duties.

The assessment had to take account of the state of social welfare throughout the province, to see what measures were being addressed by the voluntary sector, other levels of government (federal and municipal), other departments of the provincial government, and the programs in place in the Provincial Secretary's portfolio.

The overview undertaken by Harry Cassidy and George Davidson revealed a serious dearth of measures to meet the health and social welfare needs of the people, not only in the remote mining and lumbering settlements of the province's mountainous interior but also in Vancouver, Victoria, New Westminster and the score of communities with the status of towns.

The measures that did exist in the early 1930s were succinctly described by George Davidson in an address he gave at UBC in the mid-1950s:

> Institutional programs were, of course, solidly entrenched in most of the familiar sectors: boys' and girls' industrial schools, operated either by the Department of Education or the Attorney-General; orphanages under non-governmental auspices providing the main resource of care for children away from their own homes; mental hospitals; tuberculosis sanatoria; homes for the aged and the incurables; hospitals; gaols and penitentiaries – the usual round of institutions which come early and stay late in the historical development of our community social welfare services.

In a further elaboration, Davidson referred to other programs that had their origins in earlier years:

> Workmen's Compensation had been in operation in this Province since 1916. Mothers' Pensions had been in effect for a full decade, administered by the Workmen's Compensation Board as a

> companion measure to its own program. Federal–provincial Old Age Pensions had been available for three years, since 1927. A network of child welfare services under combined public and private auspices had also formed and taken shape in the decades prior to 1930. Three Children's Aid Societies were in operation, although the child welfare survey of 1927 [conducted by the Canadian Welfare Council] had shown the urgent need for having new transfusions of personnel, funds, and citizen interest to vitalize this sector of the Province's social welfare program.[26]

The 1927 events referred to by Dr. Davidson were having an impact on social welfare by 1934, the year in which he and Dr. Cassidy were beginning their work in the Department of the Provincial Secretary. The Canadian Welfare Council's survey had prompted important changes in the structures, programs and recruiting policies of the children's aid societies. It also was the catalyst that brought from the East (Ontario and Quebec) a small number of highly qualified social welfare leaders: Zella Collins, Katherine Whitman, Mary McPhedran, and Laura Holland. These gifted arrivals were initially employed in senior roles in child and family agencies, where they were contributing to the transformation of the whole of the province's social welfare endeavours.

In his review of the state of the social services, Dr. Cassidy concluded that the province's health and welfare services situated in the Provincial Secretary's department "had been the result of drift rather than of long-range plan."[27] It had not been intended that the department should serve as a social welfare ministry. He noted that three important social services were not within the department's jurisdiction: unemployment relief administered by the Department of Labour; old age pensions administered by the Workmen's Compensation Board; and juvenile courts supervised by the Attorney-General's department.

As was his practice, as a student of public administration, Cassidy prepared a chart of the organization of the department. It showed a large number of "miscellaneous services"; among them were the administration of the elections act, liquor control, official entertainments, the provincial library and museum, and the civil service commission. Programs shown as reporting to the Deputy Provincial Secretary, P. Walker, included a number of grants to hospitals, charitable associations, residence physicians and municipal social services. Dr. Weir asked Cassidy to work with the Deputy on means of better organizing the social welfare and health components of the department, and some progress was made to that end. Of major significance to the responsibilities Cassidy would assume in respect to social welfare and his prospective responsibility for health insurance were a broad range of measures under the heading "Health and Welfare Services."

Health services predominated. They included, under the Provincial Board of Health: tuberculosis and venereal disease clinics, the provincial laboratory, sanitary inspection, medical inspection of schools, grants to public health nursing and health units, and medical service to the thousands of casualties of the Depression: those receiving unemployment relief. Mental health, a second major health category included three mental hospitals and a child guidance clinic. There was also a treatment centre for tuberculosis, a disease believed to be on the increase.

Programs directly under the welfare branch were mother's pensions; child welfare; destitute, poor and sick relief; and the burial of indigents. It was with these programs that George Davidson would be mainly concerned.

Not surprisingly, Cassidy found that the program structure was rife with irregularities, that "intra departmental coordination was poor, and that administrative methods were commonly casual and inefficient."[28] Cassidy found, however, that there were positive factors in the strong role that British Columbians expected of government in dealing with the social as well as the physical needs of its people. With the support of his minister and capable associates such as George

Davidson, he formulated a plan of action guided by three principles: "Reorganization and coordination to avoid overlapping, waste and inefficiency; emphasis on preventive work in both health and welfare; and expansion of services as rapidly as possible to meet the legitimate needs and demands of the general public."[29]

Among the many new measures was the establishment of a Welfare Field Service that would provide a generalized services for the five or six branches of the ministry that needed to reach out through the province to their applicants and recipients. There had been outreach programs for some years in the field of public health,[30] and welfare officials had carried out eligibility checks on recipients of the means-tested programs, but the need for a more generalized service was strong.

What Cassidy and Davidson sought to create was a high-quality program that would attract professional, prepared and committed staff able to deal with a broad spectrum of people's needs wherever they lived. They were fortunate in finding that the previous government had recruited Laura Holland into government service: in 1932 to the position of Deputy Superintendent of Neglected Children and in 1933 as Deputy Superintendent of Welfare and Neglected Children.

Laura Holland was admirably qualified for the role to which Dr. Cassidy had her appointed: that of supervisor of the Welfare Field Service. Her background included a good liberal education in Toronto (St. Mildred's) and Boston (Simmons); she had become an accomplished musician before taking professional education, first in nursing (Montreal General Hospital) and later in social work (Toronto). She had worked as a nursing sister in many settings in World War I, her service being recognized with the distinguished Order of the British Empire award. After carrying various health and welfare roles in Toronto, she came to British Columbia as one of the "Wise Women from the East" and was appointed head of the Children's Aid Society in Vancouver. With that background and two years' experience in the provincial government, Laura Holland moved readily into her new position.

The more than 40 social workers ultimately recruited to the field staff established a record of skilled and devoted service that extended to remote and barely accessible locations. The record of their work and testimony to the high morale that began to infuse the department became known across Canada and, in spite of the deficiencies referred to earlier and which would take years to rectify fully, the improvements to the welfare segment of the department were creditable and continuing. The National Film Board of Canada made a widely distributed film on the work of the field staff, entitled *A Friend at the Door.*[31]

Provincial Health Insurance

With the social welfare area of his responsibility proceeding favourably, Cassidy was able to devote major attention to the second of the tasks Dr. Weir had assigned to him: the establishment of a health insurance program for the province. It was an assignment he welcomed: he had long been an advocate of governmental provision for the health of all members of the public, irrespective of their income level, and had become a foremost student and writer on the subject. He had, indeed, contributed substantially to the related section of the basic policy document of the CCF party, the *Regina Manifesto*, adopted at the party's policy convention in Regina in 1932. Its section on socialized health services, which was written largely by Harry Cassidy and Frank Underhill, argued that health services should be as fully available as educational services.

The process by which Weir and Cassidy undertook the campaign for health insurance was complex and prolonged and fully engaged the knowledge, energy and talent of Harry Cassidy. The initial steps included surveys of opinion, notably that of the medical profession, and the preparation of a draft bill around which discussion could be generated for the formulation of definitive legislation. The draft bill, entitled the *Health Insurance Act*, adopted in March 1935, also provided funding for a technical adviser (and potential administrator) and for a 16-member Hearing Committee, to travel the province for discussion and recommendations. The committee, headed by the Minister, had members of the legislature, representatives of the community and health professions, as well as Harry Cassidy and Allon Peebles, the technical adviser.

Initial responses to the plan appeared favourable. A poll of doctors throughout the province indicated that 75 per cent were in favour of health insurance.[32] In March 1936 a new health insurance act was passed by the Legislature, and in January 1937 Premier Pattullo stated that health insurance would begin in March. In February, however, the doctors in Vancouver and Victoria announced that they would not work under the scheme, causing the premier to delay implementation until the whole question could be decided by a referendum to be conducted at the time of the next provincial election.

Prospects that the act would be implemented still seemed hopeful if the Liberal government was re-elected and the results of the referendum were favourable. The tide was turning against the plan, however, and although the Pattullo Government was returned in June 1937 and some 60 per cent of the voters supported health insurance, the opposition of medical organizations and influential business interests weakened the will of the Government to proceed.

With the demise of the health insurance plan, Cassidy decided to leave the department, a move he made in 1939, to become the founding Dean of the new School of Social Work at the University of California at Berkeley, where, 16 years earlier, he had begun his teaching career. Perhaps the greatest legacy of Cassidy's years in British Columbia was his role as George Davidson's mentor. Though neither acknowledged nor even recognized this, Davidson had received a social welfare apprenticeship, with Cassidy as master, Davidson as apprentice.

The Voluntary Sector in Vancouver

George Davidson, who would return to the provincial government following Cassidy's departure, had left his position in the Department of the Provincial Secretary in 1935 to enter the voluntary sector in Vancouver. The move may have been influenced by the diminished challenge of the provincial position once the organizational changes Cassidy and Davidson had made were in effect. More important was recognition of the need for strong leadership in social welfare in Vancouver. The two leaders had recognized this during their province-wide review of social welfare. They had referred to the important role being played in providing leadership to the city's social agencies by an outstanding community organizer, Howard T. Falk, who had been recruited to Vancouver in 1930. When Falk's plan to accept employment in the United States became known, Davidson, with the concurrence of Cassidy, responded to the request to move to the voluntary field in Vancouver.

The importance of the work of the social agencies in Vancouver was clearly evident: it extended to the citizens of Vancouver and in some cases to parts of the mainland.

With the onset of the Depression, the Vancouver agencies faced greatly increased burdens. The Depression's consequences were twofold: large numbers of citizens had lost jobs and required supportive services; the capacity of the population at large to support charitable services was substantially reduced. The community requested better ways to plan and coordinate measures to meet community needs, and to raise funds and distribute them rationally to existing and new social service agencies.

This realization led Vancouver to join the North American movement of other major centres to bring their social agencies into coordinating bodies for better community planning and stronger financial support. In 1930 the Vancouver agencies reached agreement to establish the two organizations designed to address those needs: the Vancouver Council of Social Agencies (the community's planning agency) and

The Vancouver Social Welfare Federation (the fundraising agency known in later years as the Community Chest or United Way).

On December 1, 1935, Dr. Davidson became the executive director of each of these agencies. Although not formalized as such it was, in fact, a joint appointment that recognized the interrelated nature of the respective endeavours of the two organizations. The high profile and demanding nature of the two roles provided George Davidson, over the next three years, with tasks that would test his capacity to carry a heavy workload in a demanding and professionally hazardous environment.

He was pleased to be carrying forward the work of Howard Falk, whose contributions to social welfare were praised by the chairman of the Vancouver Social Welfare Federation in his annual report for 1935. The chairman also expressed his pleasure in announcing Falk's successor.

> On receipt of Mr. Falk's resignation the Board was faced with the difficult task of finding someone to take over his work. We feel we were most fortunate in finding, right at our hand, a young man who, from his record in the social work field, gave promise of having the qualifications necessary to fill this position. Dr. George F. Davidson, at that time occupying the position of Superintendent of Welfare under the Department of the Provincial Secretary of the Province of British Columbia, was invited to become our Executive Director and took over the work as from the first of December last.
>
> Dr. Davidson has spent most of his lifetime in this province; had a distinguished record at the University of British Columbia, of which he is a graduate, and later received his doctor's degree at Harvard. Already he has given promise of repeating, in this position, his satisfactory work in other fields and we feel confident he will quickly establish for himself a record which will command the confidence and respect of officers and directors of Agencies and of the public who support this work.

There were other events in George Davidson's life in 1935 as well as his joint appointment to Vancouver's principal social agencies. Of only passing interest was the letter he received from Harvard in March offering him the position that he had hoped would be his in the fall of 1933: an assistantship in the Classics Department. The salary being offered was less than he was receiving in his new career and the appointment was to cover "one academic year only and carries with it no guarantee at all of a reappointment."[33] George would reply that his career had taken a promising non-academic direction.

Of longstanding interest was George's marriage on July 9, 1935, to Elizabeth Ruth Henderson. As noted earlier, Ruth Henderson had been a student during two of George's four years at UBC and, after graduation in 1932, had become a teacher in one of Vancouver's high schools.

Ruth's family had come to B.C. from eastern Ontario. Her father, Frank Henderson, was born in the town of Winchester in Dundas County; her mother, Florence Reynolds, was born in Richmond, near Ottawa. Ruth was born in Perth, the charming Rideau Lakes community once militarily important on the canal route linking Kingston to Ottawa and thence the river passage to Montreal.

Frank Henderson, in partnership with his brother Fred, established a flourishing wholesale shoe business in Vancouver in the 1920s. He provided his family with a spacious home in Kitsilano, the residential community that gave Ruth and her three brothers easy access to downtown Vancouver, the renowned English Bay, schools, churches, sports facilities and UBC.

The wedding rites were conducted in St. Andrews-Wesley Church by Dr. J.G. Brown, the founding director of Union Theological College. George's family was principally represented by his brother Dr. Allen Davidson and Miss E.P. Davidson (George's Aunt Edna); the advanced illness of Wendell Oliver Davidson prevented George's father from attending. At the reception, held at the Henderson residence, the socially prominent women assisting Ruth's mother gave added evidence that George had married into a well-established Vancouver family.

The years in which he carried out his new duties – 1936, 1937 and 1938 – witnessed modest improvement in the economy, provincially and nationally, but the lessening gloom of the Depression was being overtaken by the threat of impending war. The Fascist and Nazi states that George had seen at close quarters while he was in Europe were flexing, in Spain, the muscles to be used in 1939 at the onset of World War II.

Canada, from 1935, was moving slowly forward under the cautious direction of the veteran Liberal Prime Minister Mackenzie King, whose replies to Premier Pattullo's pleas for more resources to meet B.C.'s special problems were hardly more positive than those of his Conservative predecessor. His response to angry attacks by the premiers of Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia at a federal–provincial conference was to appoint a royal commission on inter-governmental relations (the Rowell, or the Rowell-Sirois, and, following the death of George Rowell, the Sirois Commission). Though ultimately a sound move, this served to delay substantive federal action for over four years.

Meanwhile, the failure of both provincial and federal policies to aid the plight of the thousands of unemployed men in B.C. was explosively revealed in Vancouver in April 1935. Some two thousand men who had been confined to relief camps in B.C.'s Lower Mainland marched on downtown Vancouver, inflicting sufficient damage to cause the mayor to read the Riot Act and call for strong police action. The city's social services were adversely affected, and although George Davidson's duties began some months after the episode, the threat of riot hung over the community, presaging the further outbreak that occurred in the spring of 1938. On that occasion the rioters, on being forcibly evicted from the post office, poured through the streets, smashing windows and damaging property of the city's leading businesses. Vancouver, in the words of historian Margaret Ormsby, was "more scarred by the Depression than any other city in Canada."[34]

George Davidson and his new wife would have viewed Vancouver in a different, and much more favourable, light. Their individual experiences in Vancouver had been happy ones; the parts of the city they knew best, Fairview, Kerrisdale and West Point Grey, were unscathed. Moreover, George's assignment, designed to strengthen the social fabric of the community, required and elicited a positive approach to a city he had come to love.

Remarkably clear and complete documentary evidence exists of George Davidson's work at the Council and Federation. The reason for this appeared early in each of his first reports:

> In keeping with the recommendations of a special committee set up to go into the matter of procedure at the Annual Meeting, the report is given in this present unified form by your Executive Director instead of being submitted as in previous years by a number of different persons. In this way it is hoped that a more unified picture of the entire Federation can be obtained, with certain generalizations drawn as to our past achievements, our present position and our future problems.[35]

The extent to which the special committee was influenced by George in adopting the new format is not known, but it served admirably to give him scope to develop his skill in analysis, exposition, interpretation and persuasive writing.

The Council of Social Agencies was a planning organization that considered the well-being of the community as a whole. It consisted of individual social agencies that met its standards for membership. These included the perceived value of its record in meeting a social service need in the community and the soundness of its organizational structure. Moreover, membership in the Council was a prerequisite to "institutional membership" in the Welfare Federation. The

Federation, as the body that raised and allocated the funds essential to the operation of some 40 community agencies, enjoyed a higher profile than the Council. It was the Council, however, that set the standards of community service that the members of the Federation must meet.

Dr. Davidson's reports for his years at the Council, some 10 to 14 pages in length, were written with thoroughness and clarity, and with the clear intention of educating as well as informing the members of the Council about the social issues facing the community and about the measures the Council was taking to deal with them.

By the end of his first year, he had brought into being an important change in the structure of the Council's half dozen Committees. They continued to have as their chairman a prominent community leader; the innovation was the creation of the position of vice-chairman. The new role was carried by a well-prepared social service professional. The presence of vice-chairs who were outstanding social workers, such as Zella Collins, Mary McPhedran and Francis Reynolds, greatly enriched the quality of the Council's work.

Dr. Davidson's influence on the work of the Council took many forms, some reflecting his growing appreciation of professional social work as the key element in advances in the social services and in promoting the collaboration of social service agencies to meet the needs of the whole community. In his report for 1937, he outlined the case for medical social work:

> The growing importance of medical social work in connection with T.B. and V.D. services as well as the medical social services connected with the Outpatients Department of the Vancouver General Hospital, these and the developments of a hospital clearing program together with the growing importance of problems connected with medical services to indigent persons have all resulted in a decision to set up a committee on Medical Social Work in an effort to clear the thinking of the community on matters in this field.[36]

These and other aspects of George's work at the Council reflected his linkage with UBC's School of Social Work, as an honourary lecturer. The School, which had come into being through the interest of professors in the Department of Economics and Political Science in the late 1920s, dated its more formal beginnings to 1930. Throughout the 1930s it depended almost wholly on honourary lecturers drawn from the voluntary sector and from the provincial government: Dr. Weir, Dr. Cassidy and also Dr. Davidson, both when he was in and out of government. In a lecture he gave at the School in 1955, Dr. Davidson referred to his association with the School in the days of its early struggles. In humorous vein he recalled that "the university calendar and I never quite got together on the subject matter of my course. The calendar kept calling it social welfare administration; I kept on giving disorganized lectures on community organization."[37]

During Dr. Davidson's tenure at the Council there was a strong emphasis, attributable to him, on securing reliable data on the Council's areas of responsibility. Examples were the securing of case studies from 11 different agencies respecting unmarried parenthood, a Health Committee's survey of housing conditions in Vancouver for the linkages between substandard housing and ill health, a comprehensive survey into the facilities existing in the community in the field of child welfare to identify the chief unmet needs still remaining in the child welfare program, a related survey on the social needs of younger girls, and a study on "the adequacy of present municipal relief scales from the point of view of nutrition with further reference to the possible effects of cash relief on this problem."[38]

It was not surprising that with his many activities in the area of social work, George Davidson was "opted in" as a member of the Canadian Association of Social Workers (CASW). He became a vice-president of CASW's Lower Mainland Branch and presented, on its behalf, a brief to the Rowell Commission.

Among Dr. Davidson's important contributions to the Council were the linkages to it that he made with national and international organizations in the social welfare field. A number of these related to the social work conferences held in Vancouver and Seattle in June 1938: the Canadian Conference on Social Work and the National Conference on Social Work (New York-based).

Both conferences elicited strong interest and support and greatly increased Vancouver's knowledge of the social welfare issues being pursued by the Council, whose members were well represented as both participants and leaders.

Dr. Davidson's capabilities were recognized in the roles he was called upon to play during the conferences and in the committees set up to pursue their ongoing objectives. He had been appointed to other positions of importance in the Council, as he outlined in his 1937 report:

> Your Executive Director remained as vice-chairman of the Community Organization Division of the Canadian Welfare Council and has been named to the special committee of the Council which is preparing the brief to be submitted to the Rowell Commission. He also continued to serve as chairman of the Provincial Advisory Board under the Mothers Allowances Act, as a member of the Provincial Advisory Committee on Blind Welfare, and, additionally, as a member of the Board of Arbitration set up under the Residence and Responsibility Act, and as a member of the advisory committee to the recently established Borstal type unit for youthful first offenders. Each of these contacts serves to establish the Council of Social Agencies as a focal point for information and advice in social welfare planning for Vancouver. Only as this position is further established and consolidated will the Council slowly progress to the point where it can claim, as it should be able to claim, an authoritative position in the community planning of our city's social services.[39]

To a creditable extent, George Davidson had given the Council just such a position in the planning of the city's social services, faced as they soon would be with the demands of a nation at war. For his part, George remarked that his period of service with the Council has "given me an opportunity unequalled in any other position in this Province to see our community welfare program clearly and to see it whole."[40]

Dr. Davidson's reports as Executive Director of the Vancouver Social Welfare Federation were also models of thoroughness in outlining the work of the Federation in its challenging task of providing financial support for more than 40 social agencies. The reports gave full and appreciative coverage of the work of the board of directors, its chairman, the Executive Committee, and the chairmen of the Budget, Finance and Campaign committees.

In each report, the accomplishments of the Campaign Committee and its hundreds of volunteers were carefully reviewed, and because the results achieved each year surpassed those of previous years, there were grounds for the commendation that was warmly bestowed. In elaboration, the Executive Director was able to point to a seven-year record, from the inception of the Federation, of "larger and larger" amounts having been raised in each successive year. He stated that "no other community chest on the North American Continent can boast of this same record."

Although recognizing and acting upon the importance of maintaining the morale of all who contributed their time, talent and resources to the financial campaign, Davidson tempered his praise with references to objectives beyond those that had been deemed sufficient in the early years of the Federation. Specifically, he called for enlarging the scope of the Federation and for substantially raising the target to which it should aim.

On the scope of the Federation's work, he pointed out that "there are much needed features of a well rounded community programme for this City which the Federation and its ally the Council should and would be initiating if it were not that finances to date have not permitted this expansion." In elaboration he stated that "Vancouver is notorious for its almost total lack of a neighbourhood programme – no community or neighbourhood houses, no settlements, no boys' and girls' clubs; this city has practically nothing in the way of facilities for developing district or neighbourhood programmes of community welfare work."[41]

An organization that was linked both with the Federation and the Council of Social Agencies was the Social Service Exchange, later called the Social Service Index. This organization maintained a central, confidential file containing identifying information on those using welfare services in Vancouver. Its positive aspect was its use by professional social, health and welfare workers saving time and duplication of effort. Such organizations, however, often had, as their rationale, the detection of persons seeking duplicate assistance from multiple agencies. In this they reflected an approach associated with the poor laws of the past, when much effort was devoted to exposing the "undeserving poor."

A major theme in each of Dr. Davidson's reports was the importance of raising substantially more funds for the Federation from the Vancouver community than it had previously managed. To achieve that purpose, he recognized the importance of assuring the public that the Federation was soundly and economically administered. In his second report, he could state that "our expenditures on campaign and administration for 1937 were the lowest for many years. At 6.84% of gross costs they were marginally lower than those in Toronto and Winnipeg and markedly lower than those in comparable cities in the United States. Moreover, exercising organizational efficiency in its office, the Federation was able to reduce its complement of staff in two successive years." [42]

A comparable emphasis in the Executive Director's report was on the Federation's responsiveness to exceptional situations or new needs facing the agencies. An example was the demand placed on certain of the agencies by a change in public assistance policy to a work-relief system in which assistance was based on the hours of work performed. This ignored factors such as the size of the family requiring support. Moreover, it was accompanied by the cutting off of associated services such as medical, pre-natal and clothing services. The Federation provided extra funds to the agencies affected and worked to have the policy changed to "re-transfer larger families to direct-relief from work-relief" and to make other public policy changes to relieve the private agencies of burdens that are "properly not their responsibility." It warned the city fathers against proceeding with a further reduction of civic grants, stating that there was a "definite limit beyond which the Federation and the agencies cannot go."[43]

Dr. Davidson's case that Vancouver could do better in raising funds for the support of its voluntary social programs was detailed and insistent. It was not enough, he insisted "to congratulate ourselves on improving on our earlier records, we need to see how Vancouver compares with other cities." One comparison he used was the list of comparative urban expenditures prepared by the Community Chest at Des Moines. In 1931 and 1932, Vancouver stood lowest in the list of 19 cities and in seven years never rose above 15th. During that time, Vancouver's best per capita giving to the Federation stood at $1.30 against the average of the 19 cities, at $1.88. Davidson asked rhetorically, "Just what should we as citizens who take pride in our city, think about the publicity value of such a record?" He summed up his argument by stating that "Two conclusions are inescapable from our record to date: One that we have made progress; two, that we still lag lamentably far behind other comparable communities, whose achievements we could equal if we but would."[44]

As a further means of spurring positive action, Davidson compared Vancouver's record in 1937 with that of Victoria, a sometimes disparaged rival. He reported that Victoria's campaign, in the first year of its existence, "succeeded in doing two things Vancouver has never done . . . exceeded by 18% its campaign target and achieved per capita giving of $1.35, compared to Vancouver's $1.30." He proceeded to assert that "what is possible for a Canadian city like Victoria is possible for Vancouver."[45]

George Davidson proposed, both in general and specific terms, means through which Vancouver's record could be improved. He stated that "the principles underlying the operations of a Federation such as ours . . . lie deeply rooted in the democratic principles of co-operation, compromise and negotiation."[46] As an example he referred to the measures taken to bring the labour movement into a cooperative relationship with the Federation. On learning that the Trades and Labour Council had established a committee to investigate the Federation and its member agencies, Dr. Davidson invited the Council to attend all of the Federation's budget hearings and opened other avenues of collaboration. He stated that "the assistance of organized labour should be welcomed in making orderly changes agreed upon as necessary . . . without disrupting the fundamental principles of collective planning and financing on which the federation is based."[47]

Dr. Davidson advised, as well, that a further means of increasing support for the Federation would be to have all costs of administering the Federation, together with those of the Council of Social Agencies and the Social Service Exchange funded, as soon as its resources permitted, from the Endowment Fund, a component of the Federation that had been established in 1938 to receive bequests left to it. When that approach became effective, every dollar raised in the annual campaign would go to assisting the member agencies.

Davidson's principal recommendation for increasing support for the work of the Federation was "a program of constant interpretation of our aims and of our work," or, more specifically "a well rounded, well integrated program of year-round interpretation through the various excellent media available for this purpose."[48]

In his report for 1938 Dr. Davidson announced that he was, regrettably, leaving the Federation at the end of February 1939 "to succeed to the Directorship of Social Welfare for the Province of British Columbia."[49] He took the opportunity to outline what he believed his successor should be: "something more than an out and

out business manager, or administrator...something more than a straight public relations expert, something more than a social worker, something more than a money raising specialist."[50]

In his parting words he referred to the slogan for the Federation's 1938 campaign, *It's Great to Live in Vancouver*, "as coming home to him with a significance all of its own, as I prepare to leave this office, and to leave this city I love so well."[51]

Return to the Province: Director of Social Welfare

After an absence of three years, the Davidson family was now returning to Victoria, where George had previously lived for nearly three years and Ruth for five or six months. For Dr. George Davidson it was a triumphant return: he had succeeded in high-profile positions in Vancouver and, having made his mark in his earlier role of Superintendent of Welfare, had received from the Provincial Secretary the invitation to return to the position his mentor, Dr. Cassidy, had held from 1933 until his departure for a new position at the University of California at Berkeley.

Dr. Davidson's anticipated return in March 1939 was heralded in a news release by Premier Pattullo in December 1938 concerning the possible creation of a provincial welfare department that would bring together the welfare programs in the Department of Labour and the Department of the Provincial Secretary. In his rather cautious comments on the idea of a separate welfare department, the Premier stated that "nothing would be done until Dr. George F. Davidson, the new director of social welfare takes over his post."[52]

On the eve of what would be Davidson's three and a half years of renewed public service in the government of British Columbia (March 1939 to December 1942), there were numerous indications in the media of the changing circumstances he would face. Dominating the headlines were stories of the deteriorating international situation. The infamous Munich meeting in October 1938 of the British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, and the German Chancellor, Adolf

Hitler, which culminated in Chamberlain's claim of "Peace in our time," was recognized by the year's end as no more than a brief pause in Hitler's drive for European domination.

War in Europe, in fact, erupted some six months after Dr. Davidson's return to Victoria. Canada, following Britain and France, declared war on the Axis powers in October 1939. The positive effect on the economy in Canada, and especially in British Columbia, was almost immediate. The impact on manpower was all the more remarkable when viewed against the data released in December 1938 showing that the Depression was still a pressing reality in the province; the assistance rolls had risen by 13 per cent from the previous year, with the number receiving unemployment relief standing at some 60,000 persons. A year and a half later the problem was not unemployment but employment: how to attract and house a burgeoning workforce needed for every segment of the province's economy.

The advent of war had many political implications. British Columbians became markedly less provincial and more national in their loyalties. It was as Canadians that they enlisted in the armed forces for service abroad and for defending their seemingly threatened coastline. And it was Canada, through its federal government, that directed the domestic and overseas war effort and managed the economy.

The mounting spirit of Canadian patriotism played a part in undermining the political fortunes of Premier Pattullo. The Premier had continued to press B.C.'s claims on matters of economic management and provincial autonomy. He had joined with the premiers of Ontario and Alberta in opposing the recommendations of the Rowell-Sirois Report and the federal government's plan to take over all major taxation powers for the duration of the war.

The Premier's strident opposition to the federal proposals was unpopular in many segments of the population, threatening the Liberal party's prospects in the forthcoming election. This was made clear to the Premier by Dr. Weir, who urged him to mend his relations with the Canadian Prime Minister and to do this in some publicly visible way – establishing, thereby, his undoubted loyalty to Canada.

Of more direct concern to Dr. Davidson was the Premier's failure to give the level of leadership in domestic matters that had been characteristic earlier in his support for the crusade to achieve health insurance. The Premier took no steps to create a department of health and welfare.

As Dr. Weir had predicted, neither he nor the other Liberal members from Vancouver constituencies were returned in the December 1941 election. The election resulted in the defeat of the Pattullo Government and the emergence of a coalition government. The new Premier was John Hart, who, as Pattullo's Minister of Finance, had given only reluctant support to expenditures on health and social services.

The provincial election coincided with Japan's attack on the American fleet in Pearl Harbor and British bases in Malaya, Hong Kong and Singapore. Canada immediately declared war on Japan and the widely held fear that persons of Japanese birth or ancestry posed a threat to the province's security led to the entire Japanese population being moved from the Pacific coast, mostly to camps in the B.C. interior. That undertaking was carried out mainly by the Canadian army and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, but the operation made demands on the Province's health and social services, both public and voluntary. The nature of the expulsion caused moral misgivings to many in the social services, but the strength of hostile sentiment against the Japanese, especially after the shelling of a Vancouver Island lighthouse in June 1942, made dissent from the expulsion policy hazardous. As noted earlier, George Davidson's Aunt Edna was dismissed from her teaching position in New Westminster for expressing opposition to the uprooting of the Japanese population, including some of her former students and their families who were, she knew, loyal Canadians.

George Davidson, as a public official employed by a government strongly supportive of the expulsion policy, would have had to contain any adverse views he held on the subject. But this aspect of the war effort may well have contributed to a lessening of his satisfaction with his position in the government.

A more substantive factor in this respect had to do with the Provincial Secretary appointed by the Hart Government. This was George Sharratt Pearson, who also carried the Labour portfolio, as he had in the previous regime. He managed both ministries from his former office, giving little attention to the work performed in the Provincial Secretary's domain. He also showed no disposition to promote the development of a new ministry that would encompass the social programs separately administered in the two ministries.

Of major importance to the totality of social welfare agencies in the province was the location in the Department of Labour (and before that in Public Works) of the unemployment relief services during the long years of the Depression. Cassidy and Davidson deplored the separation of that vital program from those administered in the Department of the Provincial Secretary. Although unable to bring about the needed reorganization, Dr. Davidson established cordial working relations with those administering unemployment relief, notably its director, E.W. Griffith. In commenting, some years later, on Mr. Griffith's work, George Davidson referred to the "persevering steadfastness" with which he had carried that most difficult assignment and the more pleasant one, in the mid-1950s, of bringing about the long-awaited provincial Department of Health and Welfare and becoming its first Deputy Minister of Welfare.[53]

What emerged strongly during the period of his directorship was George Davidson's capacity to find sensible solutions for mishaps, misfortunes and crises, great and small, that characterize the planning and delivery of social services. This applied not only to programs within the provincial department but also in other segments of the social welfare field. One of numerous examples was his provision of sustained counsel and essential resources when a large social agency with a province-wide program suffered a combination of damaging circumstances that included a threat to the agency's funds and disruption of its executive leadership.

Dr. Davidson's performance of his mandate as Director of Social Welfare was strengthened by the increasing involvement he had in many aspects of the social welfare field not strictly related to his duties as a senior provincial official. He undertook to chair or fill other leading roles in boards and committees on juvenile delinquency, welfare of the blind, Dominion-Provincial youth training, migrancy, and the reception and placement of overseas children in Canada.

Of his exterior connections the one with the greatest importance was with the Canadian Welfare Council, the highly respected national organization that, under different names, dated from 1920 and had established an unparalleled record of leadership and service.[54]

George Davidson's formal connection with the Canadian Welfare Council began in 1937 when he was appointed to the vice-chairmanship of the Community Organization Division of the Council. He also served on an associated committee that prepared a brief to the Rowell Commission. Later, and of long-term significance, he became a member of the board of directors, serving in that capacity during what proved to be the final years of the tenure of its founding director, Charlotte Whitton.

Miss Whitton's contributions to the Council and to the social welfare field in general were extensive and influential. For years she was deemed to personify Canadian social welfare. Toward the end of the 1930s, however, she became less in tune with the social work profession, in part because of her strongly held conservative views on many key issues. Of more direct significance to her dominant role in the Council was her relationship with its board of directors. For many years, the board had consisted mainly of unswerving supporters who continually tried to meet Miss Whitton's demands for more resources and uncritical endorsements. In the words of her biographers, "the move to recruit more businessmen [to the board] had substantially shifted power from the old coalition of social workers and public spirited women...to men such as Philip Fisher and C.S. MacDonald."[55] The efforts of these and other members of the board to resolve the recurring difficulties were unsuccessful. In January 1942, the board of governors announced Miss Whitton's resignation "with sincerest regret," praising her "years of distinguished service and strenuous effort" and her "brilliant leadership."[56]

Dr. Davidson was not identified with those immediately associated with Charlotte Whitton's "resignation," and he had, as a friend, corresponded with her as early as 1939 about alternative career opportunities that would be open to her. And he may well have played a role in helping to prevent what many had feared: that the formidable Miss Whitton would leave the Council in anger, taking loyal supporters with her and gravely weakening the Council in the process.

This extensive reference to the Canadian Welfare Council and its departing leader has relevance to the next stage in the career of George Davidson, who was sought out to take on the now-vacated directorship of the Council.

The consideration of whether to accept the appointment involved the weighing of many factors. George's work in the employ of the Province of British Columbia had been of paramount importance to his career, including the highly valued experience it gave him to work in the voluntary sector. There he had formed linkages with social work that included teaching in the UBC School of Social Work and acquiring membership in the Canadian Association of Social Workers, the professional social work organization. It also, pre-eminently, included the quasi-apprenticeship relationship with Harry Cassidy and the inspiration of working in association with George Weir. In the balance of consideration, as well, were the satisfactions he continued to experience in his linkages with Victoria and Vancouver. There he could continue in the security of a senior position in the provincial government, enjoy the proximity of his and Ruth's families and the pleasures of West Coast living.

Nonetheless, the magnetism of a move to a promising position in the nation's capital proved irresistible. By 1942, Canada, with strong central direction, was progressing dramatically both at home and abroad. Ottawa was the place to be for a brilliant young man with an impressive background of education and experience and a proven record of accomplishment in what had become his chosen field.

During George Davidson's beginning years in social policy, he had become an inspiring figure. He had won the unstinting admiration of leading figures in the social welfare community in British Columbia. He won the affection, to the point of idolatry, of the social work students at the UBC School of Social Work. His identification with the ideals and purposes of the young profession of social work brought him lifelong membership in the professional organization. His intellectual prowess in dealing with the complex social and constitutional issues of the time made George Davidson a model, an exemplar, recognized as one of a small number of the persons who were leading the social advances that were transforming the provincial and national human service landscape.

■ Chapter 7

Redirecting the Canadian Welfare Council (1942–1944)

The lead article in the February-March 1942 issue of *Canadian Welfare* gave a warm welcome to Dr. George F. Davidson as the Canadian Welfare Council's new executive director. It outlined his education and professional experience, drawing particular attention to the many services he had already given to the Council "as a member of its Board of Governors, as a special consultant, and as a contributor to publications." It referred also to his having "won the high regard of professional colleagues, board members and volunteer associates alike for his achievements in the field of community organization." It concluded with a reference to George Davidson's "record of rare intellectual attainments, combined with qualities of leadership, integrity, tolerance, a lively sense of humour, and understanding of issues and peoples."[57]

George Davidson's term as Executive Director of the Canadian Welfare Council extended from March 1942 to the end of December 1944. Because of the shortness of his tenure, the statement that he redirected the Council during his brief regime requires elaboration.

The affirmative case for the assertion of "redirection" does not require a disparaging assessment of the Council as it stood when George Davidson succeeded the founding executive director, Charlotte Whitton.

During her 15-year tenure, from 1926 to 1941, Miss Whitton had skillfully guided the Council through two transformations into organizations with larger mandates, responsibilities and memberships. By the early 1940s, the Council had a small but loyal membership across Canada, an increasingly well-informed board of governors, a "French-speaking services division," and eight program divisions dealing with maternal and child hygiene, child care and protection, family welfare, community organization, leisure-time activities, delinquency services and public welfare. The Council had also appointed regional advisory committees of prominent citizens in the Maritime provinces, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairie provinces and British Columbia. And it had secured the voluntary services of seven honorary counsel, all leading figures in the legal profession, including two judges and one senator.

During the Whitton period, the Council had recruited a small staff of highly competent professionals, one with a degree in medicine and four with degrees in social work, who served as "executive assistants" to the executive director. They worked with a large corps of volunteers, among whom were those who contributed to the Council's publications, including the journal *Canadian Welfare.*

The Council's initiatives during the Whitton era included its strong support for the Community Chest Movement. Every year, *Canadian Welfare* published a special message from the Governor General to all the Community Chests across Canada. On occasion, the prime minister added his endorsement.

Under Whitton's direction, the Council's influence on both provincial and federal public programs was strong throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Federally, it helped establish the first federal–provincial shared-cost program, the *Old Age Pension Act* of 1927, and it collaborated with other agencies in promoting the 1929 revisions to the *Juvenile Delinquents Act* of 1908. Through surveys, publications and consultations, the Council continually advocated stronger child welfare legislation, the development of mother's allowance programs, and improved administration of welfare programs in the provinces.

During the Depression of the 1930s, the Council, with Whitton's constant leadership, led efforts to devise means to meet the country's desperate social welfare needs. It undertook some 30 surveys of provincial and local welfare services, held conferences to pool ideas for tackling relief problems, conducted institutes to train public welfare workers, and acted as advisor to the federal and provincial governments on macro measures including unemployment insurance, residence laws and policies relating to migrants.

With the outbreak of World War II, the Council had responded to the need for leadership in dealing with many of the social problems associated with Canada's mobilization for total war. As early as September 30, 1939, it called a conference to develop plans for voluntary services for the armed forces, and assisted in setting up official welfare services, including the Dependants Allowance Board and Dependants Board of Trustees. It helped plan for the reception of 7,000 British guest children and worked with the federal Department of Labour on day nurseries for children of mothers in war work. The Council's accumulated experience was extensively called upon to help coordinate civilian and wartime welfare services in Canadian communities.

George Davidson, as noted earlier, had formed close associations with the Council, serving on its committees from as early as 1937 and becoming a member of its board of directors in 1939. He had enjoyed good relations with Charlotte Whitton, respected her accomplishments at the Council, and was, in general, disposed to continue within the structures and programs she had created.

The work of the Council and, more particularly, the state of social welfare in the provinces and Canada in general, were presented in Davidson's three detailed and masterfully written annual reports. Like those he had produced earlier for the voluntary sector in Vancouver, the reports were intended to increase the knowledge of Council members and the broader community about the state of social welfare, and to promote informed action on numerous critical issues.

Like many civilian organizations, the Council had to face the loss of members of its workforce to war service. In the Council's case this involved four of its five professional staff, resulting in a heavier workload for the executive director. Davidson was fortunate, however, in recruiting Nora Lea as assistant executive director. Miss Lea had held important social work positions in Toronto and, from 1938 to 1940, had been national president of the Canadian Association of Social Workers. She had a working capacity comparable to that of Davidson for productive and professionally creditable achievement.

In spite of its reduced staff, the Council performed strongly. It responded generously to requests for assistance on social issues both through voluminous correspondence and direct visits. As reported in his first annual report, Davidson decided that he should visit as many centres as possible in order to make himself familiar with the problems existing in various parts of Canada. Accordingly, he visited most of the larger communities where organized welfare services existed: Halifax, Saint John, Fredericton, Quebec, Montreal, Hull, Cornwall, Kingston, Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton, London, Winnipeg, Brandon, Regina, Saskatoon, Calgary, Edmonton, Victoria and Vancouver.

In addition, George Davidson served as a member of a Royal Commission on the "provisions made for the welfare and maintenance of persons of the Japanese race resident in settlements in the Province of British Columbia."[58] Whatever he may have felt about the wholesale removal of Japanese from the "protected areas" to the settlements in the interior of the province, he shared in the commission's "unanimous opinion . . . that the provisions for the welfare of the Japanese ... are reasonably fair and adequate."[59] George Davidson's influence in a number of the commission's recommendations may be assumed, especially those relating to health care.

Davidson was strongly supportive of the Council's French-speaking Services Division. Fluent in French, he found it easier than many of his English-speaking colleagues to recognize that Canada was destined to become an officially bilingual nation. He strengthened the work of the Division by moving Marie Hamel, the highly respected francophone social worker, to full-time status within the Division. In his first report, presented at the Council's Twenty-Second Annual Meeting, in Montreal, he made the following comment:

> We have thought it fitting to recognize the fact that this Council Annual Meeting is being held in the largest free French city in the world by giving separate treatment in a separate French language report to the work of the French-speaking Division of the Council. It is not generally realized that we have here an unique feature of our Council programme which is not to be duplicated in the experience of any social agency in Great Britain or the United States, and, to the best of our knowledge, does not find any parallel in the work and organization of other national health and welfare organizations in our own country. We are proud of the fact that the Welfare Council recognizes in this way its obligation to serve the whole Canadian people.[60]

Evidence of his leadership in redirecting the Council began to emerge in the Council's report for 1941–42 although he had been in the executive position for only a few months. It appeared in the concluding words of his report. "The need today and the nation's responsibility is to build for our Canadian people, a way of life, a social environment, a social security, and a social incentive which will better fit our professions of democracy than the way of life we actually lived in the pre-war years."[61]

In Davidson's first full report, covering the period April 1942 to March 1943, he made the case for a country that would no longer be dominated, as it had during the Depression decade of the 1930s, by the supposed imperatives of laissez-faire economics. By this time, there was concrete evidence that viable plans existed for the creation of a new post-war society.

> This year has marked the turning point not only in our epic struggle for survival, but also in our efforts throughout the United Nations to formulate and crystallize the social objectives towards which our minds have long been groping as a spur to victory and to lasting

> peace in the post-war world. The appearance, in rapid succession, of a series of documents on planning for social security, such as the epoch-making Beveridge Report in Great Britain, the Marsh and Heagerty Reports in Canada, the Report of the National Resources Planning Board in the United States, all within a brief space, from December of 1942 to March of 1943, has served, in each of the respective countries, to focus attention on the importance of social welfare planning, and has underscored the importance attached to these problems of human well-being by people everywhere.[62]

In this and his following reports, Davidson outlined the different approaches that were emerging on the best course Canada could take on a new social security system. He carried the discussion to a larger audience in articles and editorials in *Canadian Welfare.* The editorial in the December 1942 issue concluded, "We must take a long look forward, and prepare to make our contribution in thought and in action to the plans which Canada must make, and make effective ... for the social security of her people in the post-war world."

He played a major part in informing Canadians of the importance of the documents that could be used in planning Canada's future. He referred in particular to the Beveridge Report, *Social Insurance and Allied Services.* Although it applied only to Britain, Davidson described that report as "a statement of faith that countries like Canada could use for developing a range of public policies designed to triumph over what Sir William Beveridge had called the five giants impeding the path to reconstruction: Want, Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness."[63]

Similarly, Davidson outlined the importance of the report of Dr. J.J. Heagerty, an outstanding medical official in government service, setting out in great detail a plan for health insurance for Canada. He gave even greater weight to the report on social security of Dr. Leonard Marsh, a leading research advisor to the Parliamentary Committee on Reconstruction. For his monumental report, Dr. Marsh had the assistance of three or four other social welfare authorities, of whom George Davidson was one. Although affirming that his contribution to the writing of the report was "considerable and significant," Davidson made it clear that this did not compromise the Council's role in such endeavours, "leaving it free to endorse or criticize as the case may be."[64]

Two other major contributors to the emergence of intense public debate on social security were Harry Cassidy and Charlotte Whitton.

Dr. Cassidy, who had written widely on aspects of social welfare in Canada and abroad, brought together his ideas on the direction Canada's social welfare programs should take after the war in his 1943 book *Social Security and Reconstruction in Canada*.[65] His long-standing interest in health insurance and his wide knowledge of the various forms of social security led to his endorsement, in principle, of the proposals of Heagerty and Marsh.

Charlotte Whitton stated her views on the social welfare measures Canada should adopt post-war in a book she had written at the request of John Bracken, head of the Progressive Conservative Party, entitled *The Dawn of Ampler Life: Some Aids to Social Security*.[66] This work challenged the approach taken by Heagerty, Marsh and Cassidy.

As executive director of the Canadian Welfare Council, Davidson had, for some time, to avoid the appearance of giving the Council's endorsement to the new proposals while they were being challenged by Charlotte Whitton and those who supported her views. This was especially the case with family allowances, a central part of the Marsh plan that Miss Whitton attacked vigorously. Davidson outlined the respective positions on family allowances in his 1944 Annual Report:

> The Marsh Report and the Report of the Women's Sub-committee on Reconstruction present the arguments in favour of the allowance scheme; while the study of Dr. Charlotte Whitton outlines the counter-arguments in favour of extended children's services instead of cash allowances. This Council has not expressed itself officially

> on the question at any time, nor is it possible to state finally and conclusively the consensus of opinion among social workers and social agencies across Canada. The contact, however, which this Council maintains with individual social workers and agencies in all parts of the country, would seem to point to the conclusion that the preponderance of opinion among social workers and social agencies is in favour of a Children's Allowance program, not as a substitute for wage adjustments, but rather as part of a comprehensive total social security program.[67]

When the Heagerty and Marsh proposals became policies or prospective policies of the federal government, Davidson could speak more positively about them. The Speech from the Throne in the House of Commons in January 1944 had revealed the government's intentions, and this was referred to by Davidson in the following terms:

> The announcement of the intention to create a Department of Social Welfare, to inaugurate a system of Children's Allowances for low income groups, and to develop, co-operatively with the Provinces, a system of Health Insurance and Old Age Insurance, provides convincing evidence that the Federal Government is preparing to accept responsibility for national leadership and stimulation in the development of an over-all social security program for Canadians as a whole.[68]

With this evidence of the direction of national public policy, George Davidson moved more openly to redirect the policies of the Council and influence the social welfare field generally. He did this through various means, the most important being articles in *Canadian Welfare*. He encouraged Charlotte Whitton to engage in a dialogue through presentation of her objections to the Marsh, Heagerty and Cassidy proposals and to what had become his own affirmation of the direction social policy was taking.

Davidson's article in the January 1944 issue of *Canadian Welfare* was especially important because it clarified for Council members the essential differences between the Marsh and Whitton proposals: Marsh proposed extensive use of social insurance and universally available children's allowances; Whitton advocated reliance on social assistance and social utilities that included a program of medical care instead of health insurance, together with a greatly extended program of child protection and care instead of children's allowances.

Whitton's call for the continued prominence of means-tested social assistance was the principal focus of Davidson's critique of her proposals. When she sought, in her rejoinder, to cite examples from other countries to bolster the case for social assistance, Davidson was able to match his command of comparative social welfare programs with hers and reduce her arguments to relative insignificance.

George Davidson continued, however, to accompany his criticism of Charlotte Whitton's post-war proposals with praise for her earlier contributions and the value of having her plan advanced as a possible plank in the platform of the Progressive Conservative Party. In his *Canadian Welfare* article, he stated that Dr. Whitton had performed a valuable public service in placing certain alternatives before the Canadian public so they might judge for themselves the merits of the respective programs.

By the end of 1944, however, it was evident that George Davidson had given the members of the Council a new perspective on social welfare. He had permanently redirected the Council away from older approaches to the meeting of human needs to the newer public measures already being taken that offered solutions to what had seemed to be the intractable problems of the Depression years.

Davidson's educational campaign outlining new measures for the post-war era reached beyond the Council to the social welfare community and portions of the general public. It would, as well, have been welcomed at both the political and bureaucratic levels of the federal government. The government was feeling its way to new fields of social policy, and having the emerging support of Canada's most prominent social agency in the voluntary sector was of considerable importance. It was especially helpful to the government because of the considerable opposition to family allowances and other projected measures being voiced in Parliament.

George Davidson was to be directly affected by the implementation of the organizational measure promised in the 1944 Speech from the Throne: the creation of a ministry of social welfare. As the idea advanced, it became an outline for the establishment of the Department of National Health and Welfare. The Department was to have two deputy ministers, and Dr. Davidson was sought out to become the first Deputy Minister of National Welfare. After some hesitation he agreed and prepared to leave the Canadian Welfare Council by the end of the year.

In the words of the president, Philip Fisher, Davidson "left a Council which is stronger than ever in its influence on public affairs, and carries the respect of social workers and the Board."[69]

George Davidson's role as executive head of what was Canada's foremost social welfare organization had brought him into a formal contact with some of the most influential figures in Canadian life. This can, for example, be illustrated with the selection of a dozen names from the Council's Board of Directors and Regional Advisory Committee: Mr. Samuel Bronfman, Mme. Pierre Casgrain, Miss Laura Holland CBE, Mr. Philip S. Fisher, Mrs. Kaspar Fraser, Mr. John B. Laidlaw, Mr. J.M. Macdonnell, Rev. J.R. Mutchmor, Hon. Louis St. Laurent, Mr. E.P. Taylor, Mr. Justice Robert Taschereau, Mrs. C.H. Thorborn OBE, Senator Cairine Wilson.

In a parting message to the Council, even as he was about to take up his new duties in the Government of Canada, Davidson refuted the widely held view that the establishment of the Department of National Health and Welfare would reduce or eliminate the need for the Council:

> The Council's role in the next ten years—and after that—can be greater and even more important than it has ever been in the past. More is at stake than ever before. Our public welfare services and expenditures are growing by leaps and bounds to dimensions that we never dreamed of in the 20s. Now is the time, with all this great development in social security and in other fields projected for the future, now is the time when all the Council's potential talents for national leadership, sure guidance and sound advice are needed more than ever.[70]

The Council was indeed destined to fill a greater and more important role than ever before. Under its next two executive directors, Dick Davis and Reuben Baetz, extending into the 1970s, the Council became a large, multi-functional agency. Its constant lobbying of the federal government was not always welcomed by George Davidson but, in general, relations between the Council and the Department of National Health and Welfare (Health and Welfare Canada) were close and cordial. And because the Council became renowned for recruiting outstanding professionals from all parts of Canada, it became an important source of staff for the federal government. As Council staff were ready for a mid-career change, many followed George Davidson's example and accepted offers in Health and Welfare Canada or other human service departments.

George Davidson's years at the Council were not wholly absorbed in its affairs. He found Ottawa to be well suited for his young family, providing schools and other facilities for the good life they were able to enjoy. Adapting to living away from the Pacific coast took some time, but the family was won over by the attractions of Ottawa itself, by its accessibility to the Rideau system of lakes and rivers, to the renowned Laurentians, and to the not-too-distant lure of Montreal and Quebec City.

Davidson's service with the Council and the direct contacts it offered with the social welfare community in every major centre across Canada made him, in his mid-30s, one of the best known and highly respected social policy figures throughout the country. He had enlarged the knowledge and transformed the social policy approaches of the community. Having achieved this within a brief period won him wide esteem. He was pre-eminently a much-needed model for persons interested in the social issues of the times and who looked for evidence that the social welfare field had within it persons of superior qualities of mind and commitment to policies that held genuine promise for the country and its people.

By the midpoint in the Second World War, when winning, rather than simply avoiding defeat, was in rational prospect, young Canadians, whether in the armed forces, engaged in war industry or completing their education, were thinking about what the country would be like and what their individual opportunities would be within it. Working in the human services field could be realistically considered, if there were evidence that it possessed the resources, and especially the leadership, to offer worthy careers. As the aspirants viewed the prospects it offered, George Davidson was a prime model in terms of his personal attributes and his record in the fields of social work, social welfare and social development.

At this point there is merit in a review of the significance for George Davidson's future career of his 11 years in public and private positions in Victoria, Vancouver and Ottawa. Three points about those years call for extended comment: the status in Canadian life that George Davidson had attained; the influence social work and social workers were to have on his values, his life-long commitment, the core of his being; and the related influence Harry Cassidy would have on Davidson's career in social policy and public policy.

George Davidson was in his mid-30s when he was recruited to the Public Service of Canada. He had performed with great distinction in the public and private social welfare sectors in British Columbia and as executive director of the Canadian Welfare Council, the most senior position in the private social welfare sector in the country. He had gained some recognition internationally and had become perhaps the principal leader in the totality of the social welfare field in Canada.

During his early months with the Council, when he travelled to all the major centres in the country, he was received not only as the executive head of this foremost agency but as an esteemed member of the social work profession. He had used his gifts as a communicator to move the thinking of the social welfare field and a large sector of Canadian opinion away from remnants of the poor law to new social policies for post-war reconstruction. He had become a model for those aspiring to create a country in which the well-being of the whole population would be progressively advanced. He was, indeed, a social policy exemplar.

George Davidson was fortunate in being in close association with social work and with outstanding human service workers in the 1930s and early 1940s. Vancouver, as noted earlier, had attracted John Howard Toynbee Falk. This gifted leader had lived up to his given names (borrowed for their linkage with renowned British social work leaders in the correctional and settlement house movements) by bringing into being the community organization programs and practices that George Davidson was able to emulate and amplify.

Davidson also became closely associated with the remarkable "wise women" who had come to the province in the late 1920s. His connections with Laura Holland were numerous, relating to the welfare field staff and her later deployment to meet critical emergencies in the public and private sectors. And he was able to strengthen greatly the work of the Vancouver Council of Social Agencies through having Zella Collins, Mary McPhedran and Francis Reynolds serve as vice-chairs of its principal committees. It was through Zella Collins, as well, that George was enlisted as a lecturer in the early years of the UBC School of Social Work.

Davidson's rapid identification with social work and social workers led to his appointment, under the exceptional circumstances clause, to membership in the Canadian Association of Social Workers. This organization, officially dating only from 1926, had branches in both Victoria and Vancouver. Although small in number, the members in the branches with whom Davidson worked greatly advanced his understanding of the needs of individuals, families and communities and the helping processes of social work.

Most of his social work colleagues had a background in social casework. Initially based on the writings of the American social worker Mary Richmond, it was later influenced by writers who drew on psychological theories. In its most advanced methodology, social casework required extensive work with the client, including his psycho-social needs as well as his material circumstances.

When George Davidson began his career in the public service, however, the social agencies were dealing with the multiple needs of individuals and families devastated by the Depression. Consequently, social work, though continuing to employ much of the knowledge and practice skills of social casework, adopted strategies and methods suited to the realities of the day. George Davidson found inspiration in social workers' dedication as they sought to meet human needs in brutally difficult times.

During his role as Executive Director of the Canadian Welfare Council, Davidson had additional relationships with social workers across Canada, including those formed in the conferences on social work. Within the Council itself were three highly qualified social workers with whom he had significant contacts, though they were on wartime leave: Joseph Laycock, Ruth Harvey and Enid Wyness. And he had recruited, as his close working associate, Nora Lea, whose extensive social work background included the presidency of CASW.

George Davidson had clearly been influenced by the social workers with whom he had worked in these many settings. He had found that they were moving away from the practices of the old English poor law and were working within a broad concept of human needs and the means by which they could be met. They were at work on ethical standards touching on the rights as well as the needs of their clients. Davidson had also found that social workers, when the case was made for moving toward comprehensive social security, were broadly receptive. He had thus become an influential member of a profession ready to embrace the reconstruction concepts that would carry the country toward the goal of the Canadian welfare state.

Further reference to the importance of Harry Cassidy on the life and career of George Davidson touches on Cassidy's membership in two distinct organizations: The Canadian Association of Social Workers and the League for Social Reconstruction.

Cassidy, though a scholar with linkages to many disciplines, had sought and attained identification with social work. While at the Department of Social Science in Toronto (later the School of Social Work), he was among the first members enlisted under CASW's exceptional circumstances clause. On his arrival in Victoria he became active in the Vancouver Island Branch of the CASW, serving on its executive and contributing to its policy committees. His principal objective, however, was to enlarge the knowledge of the members of the profession about the forces affecting their lives and the lives of those they sought to serve.

Cassidy presented these views in 1933 in an article in the *The Social Worker* entitled "The Task of Social Work." He stated that the Depression had submerged social work beneath a flood of problems created by economic factors with which social workers could not possibly cope. This meant that "the social worker must do the daily job in his specialized agency, but also that he must take part in the revision and reconstruction of the industrial order." He expressed the hope that "when understanding of this broader task of social work grows … the social workers of Canada will not be slow to bend their energies in this direction."[71]

George Davidson had obtained a good knowledge of Harry Cassidy's views on Canada's socio-economic problems. They were essentially those of the League for Social Reconstruction. The League, as noted earlier, was a group of outstanding Canadians who advocated the creation of a planned economy similar to that proposed by the Fabians in Britain. Cassidy, though not appearing as one of the authors of the League's major publication, *Social Planning for Canada*, was, in fact, one of its principal authors. He was happy to present a copy of this important book to George Davidson when it appeared in 1935.

Davidson was not given to becoming a member of politically active movements and did not join the League. He was, however, to have associations with a number of its principal members throughout his career: Professor C.W. Topping, a leader in establishing UBC's School of Social Work; Humphrey Carver, Canada's leading authority on public housing and a long-time supporter of the Canadian Welfare Council; Leonard Marsh, a social policy colleague with whom he would work on the *Report on Social Security for Canada*; Marsh's McGill colleagues, F.R. Scott and Eugene Forsey; Graham Spry, founding supporter of public broadcasting; Frank Underhill, editor and long-time writer for *Canadian Forum*.

Harry Cassidy, in summary, was a key influence on George Davidson's identification both with social work and with the broad areas of social welfare and social policy. Indeed, Cassidy is to be credited with social policy being central to George Davidson's career. That social policy, on a broad scale, can be implemented in the public sector only by the will and actions of government was also a realization George Davidson acquired through the mentorship of Harry Cassidy – with *Social Planning for Canada* as a defining document. That work impressed upon Davidson its central thesis – the belief that public policy through the instrumentality of government stands as the means of securing the well-being of all of society, including its least advantaged members.

■ Chapter 8

Serving with the Federal Government of Canada: An Overview

It was during George Davidson's years in the federal government, 1944–1972, that he made the principal contributions to public policy and administration that are heralded in this biography. For 18 of those years, 1944 to 1962, he served as deputy minister in two departments: National Health and Welfare, and Citizenship and Immigration. The positions that he next held thrust him into key roles at the centre of public affairs: as Director of the Bureau of Government Organization, 1962–1966 and Secretary of the Treasury Board, 1964–1968. From these central roles he was entrusted with the presidency of what was then Canada's major medium for information, entertainment and cultural advancement: the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (1968–1972).

The 28 years that George Davidson worked in those various positions were among the most momentous and creative in Canadian history. They were a time of extraordinary growth: in 1944 the country's population was under 12 million; in 1951 it had reached 14 million; in 1961, some 18 million; and by 1972 it exceeded 23 million, almost doubling the wartime numbers. The makeup of the population also underwent substantial change. Through immigration, primarily from southern Europe, the Caribbean, Latin America and Asia, Canada had become increasingly multicultural. The growing size and influence of the French-speaking population, not only in Quebec and New Brunswick but nationwide, led Canada to give the French language equal status with English. Canada was becoming a bilingual and multicultural country.

Many other characteristics of the population changed dramatically. Occupationally, farming and other primary production receded in importance while manufacturing and service industries expanded.

The need for advances in education called for improvements in primary and secondary schooling and a vast expansion in post-secondary education. The blossoming of college-level education in technical and scientific fields as well as in the humanities was especially notable. The existing universities expanded their offerings and increased their enrollments. The emergence of nine new universities, made possible through federal support, bolstered both the range and quality of advanced education.

The extensive recommendations of a royal commission on national development in the arts, letters and sciences resulted in greatly enhancing the cultural life of the nation, complementing the profound effects of advances in communications: radio, television and air travel. The federal government provided leadership through the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the National Film Board, the Canada Council for the Arts, and Air Canada.

The extent and breadth of what the country had accomplished in the first hundred years of its life as a nation, 1867 to 1967, was put on display at a world's fair – Expo 67 – to the wonderment both of Canadians and the world. Expo revealed the diversity and sophistication of Canada's art, music, drama and literature as well as the country's scientific and industrial capability.

This unprecedented development was manifested in the rapid and sustained growth of the country's wealth. To a significant degree all parts of the country experienced economic advancement, but some provinces had more favourable conditions for the creation of resources and the enjoyment of wealth. Both Quebec and Ontario, especially Ontario, were able to build on the industrial expansion of the war years. British Columbia, with its primary industries flourishing and its urban areas profiting from unending migration and from the increase in trade with ports in all the lands of the Pacific, experienced rapid growth and prosperity. Alberta, too poor to pay its bonded indebtedness during the Depression, moved forward in the war years and leapt into overnight opulence with the 1947 discovery of vast reserves of oil and gas.

Canada's standing abroad matched her growth at home. Based on the country's contributions to World War II and its contribution to the development of the United Nations, Canada gained recognition as an influential middle power. Canadian citizens were well represented in a range of overseas endeavours. Lester B. Pearson, a senior Canadian diplomat, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for the role Canada played in the Suez crisis of 1956. It was then that Canada accepted its first armed forces role as part of a United Nations peacekeeping mission.

Canada was not immune from the tensions that emerged after World War II and led to new conflicts and alliances. Canada had become a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949. This alliance arrayed "Western countries," led by the United States, against countries east of the Iron Curtain across central Europe, dominated by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Cold War, emerging within months of the end of World War II, permeated both domestic and foreign policy in Canada as it did in most of the world.

Canadian domestic politics from the 1940s to the early 1970s was also turbulent, reflecting both old and new tensions – fault lines in its geopolitical structure. Newfoundland, joining Canada in 1949 as its 10th province, was one of many developments that strengthened the country. Weakening it were the rise of the separatist movement in Quebec and alienation in western Canada. These raised troubling constitutional issues, destined to continue into later periods. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, violent protests in Quebec posed an immediate crisis deemed to constitute "apprehended insurrection." This led to the proclamation of the *War Measures Act*, enforced by the Canadian Armed Forces.

During his years in the federal government, George Davidson served under five prime ministers: William Lyon Mackenzie King, Louis St.

Laurent, John Diefenbaker, Lester B. Pearson and Pierre Elliott Trudeau. It is useful to summarize what their positions on social policy were during George Davidson's years in the public service. Mackenzie King, in whose term George Davidson was appointed and whose long reign as prime minister continued until 1948, had impressive claims as a friend of social development: his 1918 book *Industry and Humanity*, his government's enactment of the Old Age Assistance program in 1927 and the Unemployment Insurance Act in 1940, and, of great significance for the birth of the welfare-state concept, promulgation of the Green Book Proposals on post-war reconstruction in 1945. The years 1948 to 1957, when Louis St. Laurent was prime minister, are notable for measures including unemployment assistance and hospital insurance that were promoted by influential ministers in the St. Laurent Cabinet: Brooke Claxton and Paul Martin. John Diefenbaker's tenure, from 1957 to 1963, witnessed some advances in social measures and gave prominence to the promotion of human rights. Lester Pearson's years, 1963 to 1968, actively advanced the process of developing social welfare and health programs, almost completing the step-by-step progress to a welfare state. Pierre Trudeau's first government, 1968 to 1972, while giving its highest priority to promoting bilingualism and dealing with unrest in Quebec, enacted a new unemployment insurance measure that added maternity and sickness benefits. This completed what, in prevailing definitions, constituted a comprehensive social security system. The country was deemed to be the Canadian welfare state.

This thumbnail review of the policy positions of the prime ministers under whom George Davidson served suggests that he was fortunate in being in a central place in governments that gave scope for the expression of his humanitarian ideals and his skills in policy-making and administration. What made his contributions and those of others in the public service of critical importance to the advance of social welfare during the period was that the forces for and against social development in government were of comparable competitive strength. Even the Liberal party, which could, when it was in its electoral interest to do so, boast of being the social welfare party, had, within it, strong opponents of social welfare measures. The opponents were mainly from the corporate sector, urging the avoidance of expenditures that would increase taxes and diminish policies favourable to business. Steps taken to expand social welfare services were also deplored by some "old-guard Liberals," who viewed them and the progression toward a welfare state as socialistic.[72]

Davidson encountered a number of major policy issues in his years in the federal government. While deputy minister in the departments of National Health and Welfare and of Citizenship and Immigration, he encountered the full range of human needs and problems and played a part in the policy and administrative measures taken to deal with them. In National Health and Welfare, he was a major player in implementing the federal government's remarkable blueprint for a post-war nation that sought to remedy the grave social and economic defects of the pre-war years: the 1945 Green Book Proposals on reconstruction. The step-by-step implementation of the complex social security measures they heralded included the establishment of family allowances, old age security, old age assistance, blind persons' allowances, disabled persons' allowances, unemployment assistance, and health insurance. Their planning, development and implementation called for the exercise of skills Davidson had developed in the public and voluntary sectors in his earlier years. He also helped arouse Canadians to action to improve and sustain their health through individual and collective physical fitness activities. In addition, he was a major player in a chilling aspect of the Cold War: the need for protective measures for the whole of the civil population – nationwide civil defense.

In Citizenship and Immigration, George Davidson provided wise council to the Minister on immigration, an area of constant ambivalence in Canadian society, and on how to deal wisely with the growing influx of refugees fleeing oppressive regimes in many parts of the world. The Department was also charged with the responsibility for the country's Aboriginal people, whose needs were being redefined and the insufficiency of past policies recognized.

In the positions he held close to the centre of national government, within the Bureau of Government Organization and the Treasury Board, Davidson was given key roles in examining and reforming the apparatus and spending practices of government, which by the 1960s, had escalated in size, cost and complexity.

It was fitting that Dr. Davidson was asked to provide policy and administrative leadership to the organization that was playing a central role in the cultural life of the nation – the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. His leadership in that position had to take account of the peril to the nation posed by the separatist insurrection in Quebec.

George Davidson's years in the public service brought him into active involvement with the central issues confronting Canadian society. He was recognized as an exemplar in public policy, as he had been and would continue to be in social policy.

■ Chapter 9

Deputy Minister: National Health and Welfare Citizenship and Immigration

The position of deputy minister in the federal government of Canada is comparable to that of the Permanent Secretary in the government of the United Kingdom. It is the most senior position in a department or ministry, and carries total responsibility for its administration. The deputy minister also provides policy advice to the minister on the full range of departmental programs. Deputy ministers are appointed by the prime minister, and they have to be sensitive to the day-to-day tenor of political events in Parliament and the media. They are, however, normally appointed from within the public service, retain their position when governments change, and serve loyally whatever government is in office.

George Davidson served as Deputy Minister of National Welfare from July 1944 to April 1960, with three ministers, Brooke Claxton and Paul Martin in Liberal governments, and Waldo Montieth in the Progressive Conservative Government of John Diefenbaker.

By 1943, the wartime ministry of Mackenzie King was recognizing that it needed to move social policy to the centre of its post-war plans for reconstruction. As noted earlier, it had, accordingly, decided to establish a new ministry: the Department of National Health and Welfare. The department was to have distinct but interlocking health and welfare components; the health side absorbing the health programs of the former Department of National Pensions and Health and undertaking to work toward the health insurance program set out in the Green Book Proposals; the welfare side to administer the existing social assistance programs for the aged and the blind, to develop a range of social security programs, and, of immediate importance, to develop the family allowance measure that had been strongly advocated by the Marsh Report as the "key to consistency" in a comprehensive social security system.[73]

Chosen to set up the new department and to become the first Minister of National Health and Welfare was Brooke Claxton, an outstandingly able member from a Montreal constituency who had been Prime Minister King's parliamentary assistant. He had helped move the Liberal party to the left in the fall of 1943 and was described as "one of the architects of the Canadian welfare state."[74] He knew of George Davidson's views on social programs, especially on family allowances, and in the spring of 1944 had spoken to the prime minister about appointing Davidson to one of the two senior positions.

When first approached by Claxton, Davidson demurred and recommended that Harry Cassidy was the best person for the position and should be sought out.[75] But after repeated offers of the position, Dr. Davidson accepted and in July 1944 became the first Deputy Minister of National Welfare.

Family Allowances

That month, the family allowances bill was introduced in the House of Commons. It became immediately evident that the government was attaching the greatest importance to its enactment and to the associated aim of winning wide public approval for the measure. The Liberal Government had come to recognize that in order to reverse its low standing in opinion polls, it needed to heed the public's desire for programs that would prevent a return to the needless deprivations of the Depression. Evidence of the threat to Liberal power came from developments in two of the political parties with members in the Commons: the Progressive Conservative Party, under its new leader, John Bracken, who had induced the party to add "Progressive" to its older but seemingly discredited name; and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), which, though only 12 years old, had made remarkable gains in popular opinion and in electoral status, having won eight seats in Parliament in 1940, becoming the official opposition in the province of Ontario, and being on the point of forming the government in Saskatchewan.

The Prime Minister introduced the family allowances bill and, although it was ably supported by Brooke Claxton and by Paul Martin, a strong proponent of welfare measures, it was Mackenzie King himself who put forward the case for family allowances and defended the legislation against its detractors. His brilliant performance was in character: as a former deputy minister of the federal Department of Labour and then minister of the same department, as an internationally recognized authority on labour relations and social security, and as author of a highly regarded book on these subjects, he could speak with incomparable authority.

In addition to outlining the essential features of the program and the impact it would have on the well-being of children and families, Mackenzie King referred to the program as part of the government's longer-term plan for the development of comprehensive social security measures. He referred, as well, to the economic importance of the measure, arguing that it would provide a stimulus to the economy that would be of long-term significance but would be especially important when wartime spending was coming to an end.

He vigorously defended the bill against attacks from Progressive Conservative members. It was apparent that they had embraced views expressed by Charlotte Whitton in *The Dawn of Ampler Life*, the book she had written at the request of their leader. Their advocacy of the use of a means test conducted by welfare workers drew the Prime Minister's sharp criticism: the Progressive Conservatives "would like to continue the old fashioned method of seeing that something is done for others rather than permitting them to do things for themselves savours of charity and charity has been a nauseating thing to many who had had to submit to it in order to eke out an existence."[76]

Mackenzie King also dealt firmly with the Progressive Conservative contention that the proposed program was unconstitutional. This argument was made by John Diefenbaker, considered one of the ablest debaters in the House. He referred to the failure of some of the bills passed by the Conservative government a few years earlier to come within the constitutional powers of the federal government, noting that they, like family allowances, were in the socio-economic field. He asserted, therefore, that the prudent course for the government was to withdraw the bill and refer it for an opinion to the Supreme Court of Canada.[77]

The Prime Minister's reply was an assertion of what, in later years, was succinctly called the spending power. His unchallenged contention was that "this Parliament is at all times free to make a grant of its own money in any way that Parliament may determine." Specifically, he continued, "This is a grant made from this Parliament by virtue of its control over its own money."[78]

The Prime Minister also strongly attacked the charge made in reports attributed to John Bracken, the Progressive Conservative leader (who was not, at the time, in Parliament), that the program was a bribe to win support in the province of Quebec. The charge was linked to what, at the time, was Quebec's higher birth rate and the assertion of some Quebec nationalists that French Canadians could win what had been lost on the Plains of Abraham by bringing more babies into the world than English Canadians: the "revenge of the cradle." If the bribery charge were actually made in Parliament by any member of the House, the Prime Minister warned that he would insist on its withdrawal or call for the expulsion of the offending member. The charge was, nonetheless, made by Dr. Herbert Bruce, the member for Parkdale, a Toronto constituency: "I now declare that this measure is a bribe of the most brazen character made chiefly to one province and paid for by the taxes of the rest."[79] On the order of Speaker, the member was ejected from the House for the remainder of the day, probably believing that he had scored a point favourable to his party's cause.

The Bill received the warm support of the CCF Party: notably in the speeches of M.J. Coldwell, the CCF leader, Stanley Knowles, the party's foremost spokesman on social welfare issues, and Dorise

Neilson, one of the few women in the Parliament of the day. Mrs. Neilson made the case, which was ultimately successful, for the payment of family allowance cheques to the children's mother rather than the father.

Mackenzie King thanked the CCF members for their support but contested their claim that it was their advocacy that was responsible for the introduction of the measure. The Prime Minister cited evidences of Liberal support for social security measures long before the advent of the CCF.

Brooke Claxton, as the minister who would be responsible for the successful administration "of the largest social program in Canadian history to that time," recognized how formidable would be the task of putting the provision of family allowances into operation. There was no national register of Canadian children, no file of parental addresses, not even any cheque-writing machinery. If things went wrong, "the program would change from a political asset into a political liability." He "knew who would be blamed."[80]

Mackenzie King and Brooke Claxton had the good fortune of having George Davidson as the person who would be entrusted with the development and administration of the program. Davidson brought to the position an ideal combination of commitment, unsurpassed knowledge of the settings in which the program would function, and cordial relations with senior officials in all the provinces. He had, as well, the ability to win the support of the relevant parts of the voluntary sector: the social welfare community and the large body of citizens, eager, especially in wartime, to offer their voluntary service to worthy endeavours.

The Welfare section of the first annual report of the Department of National Health and Welfare, 1944–45, testifies to Davidson's work toward the goal of having cheques go out to families across Canada on the target date, July 1, 1945. A National Director of Family Allowances was installed on February 1, 1945. Until that date, Dr.

Davidson had single-handedly carried that role as well as the multitude of other organizational aspects of the program. They included planning for the recruitment of regional directors for the nine provinces, securing accommodation for the offices in the provincial capitals, and for managing the large number of administrative staff. Because of the magnitude of the registration process, provision had to be made for voluntary workers to assist in handling mail and carrying out the primary processing of forms. Dr. Davidson secured the cooperation of the Women's Voluntary Services, which provided some 1,500 individual volunteers. By the end of the 1945–46 fiscal year, there was clear evidence of the successful operation of the program: nearly one-and-a-half million families were receiving allowances for 3.3 million children.

George Davidson's skillful handling of the family allowances program reinforced Brooke Claxton's appreciation of his Deputy Minister of National Welfare. In the words of his biographer, Claxton "came to depend heavily on George F. Davidson for guidance and advice. Davidson's practical demeanour was the perfect complement to Claxton's sometimes flamboyant thinking."[81]

Brooke Claxton formed a different opinion of his Deputy Minister of National Health, Brock Chisholm. Dr. Chisholm had been appointed while serving as director of medical services for the Canadian army, with the rank of major general. While in the armed forces he had introduced many positive approaches for recruitment and manpower use, and had added to the international repute he had gained as an innovative thinker on health and humanitarian issues. During his two years in the department, Dr. Chisholm was also involved in international plans leading to the establishment of the World Health Organization, to which in 1946 he was appointed as the first director general. While in the department he accepted a number of speaking engagements, and it was these that caused tension between Chisholm and the Minister. The Deputy Minister's addresses included attacks on superstitions, myths and methods of indoctrinating children. They provoked controversy, both positive and negative, in the public domain and in Parliament. Claxton found the Chisholm speeches and their reaction "very difficult to take" and, had it not been for the Prime Minister's restraining advice, would have fired him. Dr. Chisholm's resignation to take up his international assignment disposed of the difficulty.[82]

George Davidson's early years in the public service were not wholly absorbed in launching the family allowances program and making arrangements for other programs that were to become the responsibility of the welfare side of the department. Two other notable events absorbed his Minister's attention and his own appropriately modulated participation: the federal election in June 1945 and the Dominion–Provincial Conference on Reconstruction in August 1945.

Wartime elections can be unpredictable: Winston Churchill's Conservative party in Britain was defeated; Mackenzie King's Liberal Party in Canada was returned to office with a comfortable majority. The strong showing for the Liberals on election day when compared with their earlier standing in the opinion polls was widely attributed to their support for social programs, demonstrated in the family allowances program, together with the promise of further social security measures and improved standards for labour.

Reconstruction and the Green Book Proposals

Bolstered by their electoral victory, the Government convened what proved to be a historically noteworthy Dominion–Provincial Conference. It was called a Conference on Reconstruction, and the Government attached the highest importance to its success. To that end, it prepared perhaps the most significant assemblage of proposals and supporting public documents since the Confederation papers that created the nation in the 1860s.

These were the Green Book Proposals. They consisted of a basic 50-page document entitled *Proposals of the Government of Canada*, detailed reference books, namely, *Dominion–Provincial Co-operative*

Arrangements, Dominion Subsidies to Provinces, Public Investment and Capital Formation, Health, Welfare and Labour and the summary *Proceedings* of the conference. In total, these documents numbered some 600 pages.

The Green Book Proposals were the creation of a government strengthened by the experience of mobilizing the nation's highly praised contributions to victory in World War II, rebuilding the failed economy of the Depression years, and reviving the energies, capabilities and hopes of men and women in all parts of Canada.

More specifically, the Green Book Proposals were the joint creation of one of the strongest Cabinets in Canadian history and a small group of brilliant and committed public officials.[83] Together they produced in the Green Book Proposals a long-lasting blueprint for Canada's post-war rebirth. The Proposals became the scripture that would guide a generation of those committed to the establishment of the Canadian welfare state. Their influence would extend from the mid-1940s to the early 1970s. Even in the years that followed, when governments repudiated the values and dismantled many of the programs generated by the Proposals, significant elements of their legacy lived on. They hold promise for a revival of the concepts of social development needed to deal with the complex problems of a new century.

The creators of the Green Book Proposals recognized and incorporated the ideas and recommendations of a number of studies that had been undertaken over the years in government departments and by Parliamentary Committees and Royal Commissions. They included the Sirois Commission on the Constitution (1942) that clarified the respective powers of the federal government and the provincial governments; the National Employment Commission (1938) that recommended both unemployment insurance and unemployment assistance; the Special Committee on Social Security that generated the Marsh Report (1943); the Parliamentary Committee on Health Insurance (1943) that approved the draft legislation developed by Dr. J.J. Heagerty; and the White Paper on

Employment and Incomes (1943) that laid out means of stimulating the economy to achieve long-lasting levels of stable employment.

The six ministers who presented the Green Book Proposals were the Prime Minister, Mackenzie King; Louis St. Laurent, Minister of Justice; J.L. Ilsley, Minister of Finance; J.G. Gardiner, Minister of Agriculture; Humphrey Mitchell, Minister of Labour; C.D. Howe, Minister of Reconstruction; and Brooke Claxton, Minister of National Health and Welfare. Each was capable of dealing competently with his subject matter, which was presented in extensive papers that outlined and upheld the specific elements of the Proposals and the rationale for their collective adoption.

What emerges from a study of the addresses of the ministers, however, was evidence that they represented a coordinated endeavour that was the work of highly talented public officials who were committed to the view that Canada required a central government able to match the performance of the wartime government. These were the members of the Secretariat of the Cabinet Committee on Dominion–Provincial Relations: Alex Skelton, J.R. Baldwin, J.F. Delute and John Deutsch.

These men were part of the small group, 19 in number, named by Professor J.L. Granatstein in his book *The Ottawa Men: The Civil Service Mandarins, 1935–1957.* Though from different agencies of the government (External Affairs, Finance, Trade and Commerce, the Bank of Canada, the Privy Council, and the Prime Minister's Office), they formed close personal and work-related linkages and exercised a powerful and pervasive influence on the country's public policy. The prime example was the approach, formulation and ideas that emerged in the Green Book Proposals.

The 1945 Reconstruction Conference, during the five days of its deliberations, seemed remarkably harmonious. Every province stated that the goal of creating a stronger post-war Canada must be achieved. It soon became evident, however, that the Dominion government's proposal on the future of taxation would be a divisive issue. At the beginning of the war, the federal government, faced with the costs of financing its military and civil obligations, had adopted unprecedented policies on taxation. It took over the entire field of taxation, direct and indirect. The constitutional grounds for this action resided in Section 91 of the *British North America Act*, 1867, which gave Parliament the authority to raise money "by any mode or system of taxation." The provinces, however, had been given, under Section 92, the more restricted right to "make laws" respecting "Direct Taxation within the Province in order to the raising of a Revenue for Provincial Purposes." On this basis, they had come to claim ownership of direct taxes and objected to having them "taken over" by the federal government. The "takeover" was extensive: it included personal income taxes, corporation taxes and succession duties, and gave "the Dominion Government the full and exclusive access to these revenue sources."[84]

The taxation and other wartime measures were undertaken by the federal government with the constitutional powers it was deemed to possess in times of national crisis under the "peace, order and good government" proposition in Section 91's preamble. This had been clearly laid out in the Dominion–Provincial conference held in 1941. Though opposed by some provinces, notably Ontario and Quebec, these arrangements remained firm through the war years. Their partial retention proposed in the Green Book Proposals was bound to be questioned, but the federal government hoped that its financial proposals would be acceptable as part of the totality of the measures put forward in the reconstruction documents.

George Drew, the Premier of Ontario, although mainly opposed to the taxation proposal, expressed broader concerns. He warned that the success of the highly centralized organization of Canada during the war was being used to bring about a more centralized post-war Canada, with a grave reduction in the powers of the provinces. He emphasized that each provincial government is "not merely a subsidiary government; it has responsibilities in fields of its own not covered by the activities of the Dominion government..."[85]

Maurice Duplessis, the Premier of Quebec, though stating that "the Province of Quebec sincerely wishes to collaborate and co-operate with all," made a similar case against centralization, founding his position on the compact theory of confederation. He referred to Quebec "as one of the parents who gave birth to the Federal Government," and stated "that the *British North America Act* is a compact having all the character of a contract and consequently cannot be modified or amended without the full consent of the contracting parties." He strongly attacked centralization, saying that it "always leads to Hitlerism."[86]

The concluding decision of the conference was to form a Continuing Coordinating Committee consisting of the Prime Minister of Canada and the nine provincial premiers. It was further decided that the committee would reconvene in November 1945, following work by subcommittees of officials. That process continued into the new year, with growing evidence of opposition to the proposals. When the committee reconvened on January 28, 1946, the positions of Ontario and Quebec had hardened and all prospect of the early acceptance and implementation of the Green Book Proposals faded. Their implementation, though ultimately of profound importance, would be a slow process extending through the 1950s and '60s.

The Civil Service Mandarinate

More needs to be said about the mandarinate as it stood when the Green Book Proposals were being developed, and how it related to George Davidson's status and relationships within the public service. Of the 19 mandarins identified by Professor Granatstein, the one having most to do with the proposals was William Mackintosh in the Department of Finance. A brilliant scholar, economist, teacher and writer, he had come into the public service as special assistant to the Deputy Minister, Clifford Clark, and thereby became a close associate of Robert Bryce, Mitchell Sharp and A.E.W. Plumtree. Mackintosh became a member of one of the most important committees in government, the Economic Advisory Committee (EAC), and in

January 1943 became head of the subcommittee on reconstruction. Joining him were Alex Skelton from the Bank of Canada, Louis Rasminsky from the Foreign Exchange Control Board, John Deutsch and Jean Chapdelaine from External Affairs, Robert Bryce from Finance, and J.R. Baldwin from the Privy Council Office. They undertook the complex task of formulating policy on constitutional, political and financial issues, and recognized that "economic policy and social-welfare planning had to be accomplished at one and the same time if the expectations that the Canadian people had for the post-war years were to be met."[87]

By the time of the Reconstruction Conference, George Davidson had seen the work of these and the other mandarins and had formed a more favourable opinion of them than he had expressed in a letter to Harry Cassidy while he was with the Canadian Welfare Council. Writing about the makeup of the EAC and its reconstruction committee as "the boys who are going to write the post-war ticket," he named Clifford Clark, William Mackintosh, Graham Towers, Donald Gordon, Norman Robertson and some others, remarking that "once again we have an imposing line up of money economists with hardly a drop of humanitarian blood in the lot of them."[88]

Over the course of his close contacts with these and other members of the Granatstein mandarinate, George Davidson would modify his assessment of them. In general, their backgrounds were like his own. With only two exceptions – John Deutsch, who was Roman Catholic, and Louis Rasminsky, a Jew – the others were, like him, white Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Likewise, all had distinguished themselves at university: Queen's, Toronto, McGill, Manitoba, Chicago, Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard and British Columbia. Four had been Rhodes Scholars; others had scholarships of various kinds. Norman Robertson and Dana Wilgress were UBC graduates. A number had done some work at Harvard: Robert Bryce, Loring Christie, Clifford Clark and William Mackintosh (the only one to attain a doctoral degree).

George Davidson's use of the term "money economists" to describe members of the mandarinate is questionable. Most had come from backgrounds that were far from the plutocracy blamed for the Depression of the 1930s and identified with laissez-faire economics. That had been the dominant theory undergirding the unfettered capitalism that prevented many governments, including that of Canada, from "impeding" the supposed capacity of the trade cycle to right itself if left alone. By 1943 laissez-faire had given way, in the policy thinking of the mandarinate, to Keynesian economics. This was based on the theory developed by renowned British economist John Maynard Keynes. The theory held that financial crises and unemployment could be curbed by governments, taking control of credit and currency – acting to stimulate the economy through deficit financing when the economy was depressed, curbing public expenditures when the economy was overheating.

Keynesian economics, not wholly approved of by Mackenzie King, nonetheless made its way among the mandarins, espoused especially by Robert Bryce, who had been a student of Keynes at Cambridge and carried his Keynesian ideas to his graduate work at Harvard and then to Canada's Department of Finance.

George Davidson had been attracted to the Keynesian means of influencing public policy and may well have contributed two revealing sentences in Brooke Claxton's speech at the Reconstruction Conference. One referred to social security having two aspects: "They are first, humanitarian or social, and second, economic or financial." The other sentence, more clearly Keynesian, stated, "it is within the power of the Dominion to finance its share of the combined cost of health insurance and of old age pensions out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund with such modification of taxation as would be justified, in the opinion of Parliament, by the universal benefits of health insurance and old age pensions and by other purposes of Dominion expenditure."[89]

It is evident that George Davidson found the views of the elite members of the public service to be closer to his approach to public life than he had earlier believed. He also found how favourably his credentials in terms of education, experience both in government and the voluntary sector, and his capacity both to formulate and administer public policy, compared with those of his new colleagues. Although entering into harmonious relations with them, he did not, while a deputy minister, become, or seek to become, a member of the inner mandarinate, whose members were closely linked in day-to-day and socially oriented activities. These included lunching together at the Chateau Laurier grill or the Rideau Club and spending weekends and holidays with their families in cottages at the Five Lakes Fishing Club in the nearby Gatineau Hills. Members of the club included Clifford Clark, the organizer, Robert Bryce, John Deutsch, Donald Gordon, William Mackintosh, Lester Pearson, Jack Pickersgill, Louis Rasminsky, O.D. Skelton, and Dana Wilgress.

The Davidsons continued to live in the west end of Ottawa rather than in Rockcliffe or New Edinburgh, where most of the members of the mandarinate resided, near Rideau Hall, the Governor General's residence.[90] The social circle of George Davidson and his family embraced members of the social welfare community, which included prominent members of Ottawa society, colleagues from the government departments with which he was most closely associated, his ministers and their families, and, as Davidson's international activities increased, members of the diplomatic corps. There were also neighbourhood friendships linked to the activities of their children: two boys, Roger and Craig, and a daughter, Barbara.

In 1946, Davidson's first minister, Brooke Claxton, was moved by the Prime Minister to the Department of National Defence, which needed to be reorganized for its peacetime role. Claxton was replaced by Paul Martin, who retained the ministry through nine very active years, until the Liberal defeat in 1957. Like Claxton, Paul Martin was a small L liberal, firmly committed to the Green Book Proposals. His progressive views reflected his life experiences, growing up in a

French-Canadian family in a small industrial town in the Ottawa valley, where his brilliant mind and boundless energy led to a succession of opportunities for academic and professional learning that took him to St. Michael's College within the University of Toronto, Osgoode Hall, Harvard Law School, and Cambridge. His interest in labour relations had led him to select Windsor, Ontario, a small industrial city on the American border, for his personal and professional life and for launching a political career. His two-volume autobiography, aptly entitled *A Very Public Life*, recounts a long and successful career that carried him to the highest offices in the Canadian government, just short of the prime ministership.

George Davidson's energies through the remaining years of the 1940s and to the end of the 1950s were largely, though by no means wholly, absorbed in the administration of the Welfare Branch of the Department, which was increasingly known as Health and Welfare Canada. "Dr. Davidson," as he was called by both the professional and service staff, took in his stride the opportunities and challenges of his position as it expanded with the addition of programs assigned to the Welfare Branch.

The first such program was a long-standing one that had been administered by the Department of Finance: Old Age Pensions and its associated program, Pensions for Blind Persons. The Old Age Pension program, the first federal–provincial shared cost program, dated from 1927. It was enacted by the minority Liberal government that retained power by acceding to the demand for a pension program by the small Labour Progress group in Parliament under the leadership of J.S. Woodsworth (later the founding head of the CCF). Dr. Davidson welcomed the existing pension staff into the branch, including its long-time director, Wilkie Macfarlane. For some time the program was highly regarded and renowned as the first step in the slow creation of a comprehensive social security system. Later, it became a target of criticism from some quarters for the level of benefits in which the Dominion government would share (initially $20 a month, increased to $40 in 1949) and its use of a rigorously defined means test. The

Pensions for Blind Persons, which had been enacted in 1937, was also a federal–provincial cost shared program. It required a vision test as well as a means test, and was available at age 40 (later reduced to 21). Because a blind person had needs beyond those of a sighted person, the permissible income ceilings were somewhat higher than for old-age recipients.

The second program assigned to the Welfare Branch was Physical Fitness. This was one of the measures stemming from the *National Physical Fitness Act* of 1943. It was designed to improve the physical health of Canadians, which in surveys undertaken at the beginning of the war, had been found to be at an unsatisfactory level. In March 1944, a National Council on Physical Fitness was formed and agreements were entered into with six provinces. The central aim of the program was to assist each province "to develop a satisfactory plan of physical fitness." To this end, the Dominion government made grants to the provinces on a per capita basis. These increased from a modest $23,000 in 1944–45 to over $230,000 by 1954–55. The program was largely educational, providing material to schools, clubs and agencies nationwide and making use of radio and other media to inspire individuals of all ages to improve their health through sports and other forms of exercise. The range of its outreach is indicated in a list of the standing committees of the National Council: Athletics and Olympic Games, Community and Rural Activities, Cultural Activities, Games and Sports, Gymnastics, Health Services and Medical Gymnastics, Industrial Recreation, Leadership Training, National Training Program for Youth, Physical Education and the School, Swimming, Life Saving and Bathing Facilities.

George Davidson initially welcomed the program because of the breadth of its scope and the quality of the leadership of its first director, Ian Eisenhardt. Major Eisenhardt, a Danish Canadian with broad experience in the field of physical education in Europe, had served in that role in the Canadian Army and had also held positions in both the voluntary and public sectors in British Columbia. These brought him into frequent association with Davidson. In a widely read article in a national magazine in 1939, he and George Davidson were, coincidentally, described as two of the promising young Canadian leaders who had been identified and promoted by Dr. George Weir.[91] Eisenhardt resigned from the directorship of the program in the autumn of 1946, and it gradually declined in importance as the provinces, municipalities and a legion of voluntary agencies developed wide-ranging sports and fitness activities. The supporting legislation was repealed in 1959.

In addition to the two major components of Health and Welfare Canada (the Health Branch and the Welfare Branch), a third important part was the Administration Branch, which served the Department as a whole. Within it were five divisions: information, personnel, legal services, the departmental library and the research division. Dr. Davidson, who kept his immediate staff to a minimum, encouraged the development of these essential services and made full use of them. This was especially true of the Research Division, to which he recruited a gifted director, Joseph Willard. Dr. Willard held graduate degrees from Toronto and Harvard and, by virtue of his work in social welfare programs and his indicated commitment to social work values, was admitted, as George Davidson had been earlier, to membership in the Canadian Association of Social Workers under its special admission provision.

Dr. Willard set out to recruit well-qualified research personnel who, in addition to their professional qualifications, were committed to the long-term objectives of the government as expressed in the Green Book Proposals. They became a vital part in all aspects of the developmental endeavours of the Department: the National Health Grants program, Old Age Security, Unemployment Assistance, Hospital Insurance and Medicare, the Canada Pension Plan and the Canada Assistance Plan. The contributions of the members of the Research Division elicited high praise from Paul Martin and later from Waldo Montieth.

Paul Martin, with his strong and enduring commitment to the social security proposals, sought to initiate action on them. He decided that the best place to begin was through a national health grant program. A formidable obstacle to moving forward was the position taken by the government during the discussions of the Green Book Proposals in 1945 and 1946, namely that the Proposals must be agreed to as a whole and by all provinces. Ontario and Quebec, as noted earlier, had refused agreement primarily because of the taxation component. The resulting delay in acting on the social security commitment gave satisfaction to a majority of the members of Cabinet whose support for the 1945 Proposals had declined because of a growing recognition of the costs involved. Martin, however, was able to make a case for launching a health grant program through winning the support of the Prime Minister. Although approaching retirement, Mackenzie King was able to view the program as a measure that would enhance his social policy legacy: it would be another tangible step toward the achievement of comprehensive social security for Canada, a goal he could claim (rather questionably) to have proposed in *Industry and Humanity* in 1918.

National Welfare Grants

Launched in Parliament in 1948, the National Health Grants Program provided funds for planning and organization, hospital construction, general public health, tuberculosis, mental health, venereal disease, crippled children, cancer, public health research, and professional training. The program was generally well received. In response to the criticism that it fell far short of the health insurance provisions in the 1945 Proposals, Paul Martin replied that the grants were a necessary preliminary step for health insurance. In countering the charge that they were too small, the Minister stated that the $30 million-a-year scheme meant an increase of 30 per cent in the total expenditure on health by all governments in Canada; it equalled one-half of the provincial expenditures, twice the municipal budgets for health, and a four-fold increase in federal health expenses.[92]

In reviewing what had proved to be the successful launching of the National Health Grants Program, Martin paid tribute to the "sound advice of my two deputies": Don Cameron, the Deputy Minister of Health, who had succeeded Brock Chisholm, and George Davidson. He described Dr. Cameron as a person who "expressed himself quietly and with scientific precision." He referred "to the welfare Deputy, George Davidson, as one of the most brilliant men in the Canadian public service."[93]

Louis St. Laurent, who had become prime minister in 1948 following the retirement of Mackenzie King, launched an election campaign in 1949 that was highly successful for the Liberal party. Paul Martin believed that the National Health Grants Program and the promise it held for continued development of social programs had contributed to the election victory and would ensure support from the cabinet and the Prime Minister for proceeding with the other measures set out in the Green Book Proposals. Martin learned, however, that his campaign to move ahead with the proposals would continue to meet with formidable resistance. He found that he and the Prime Minister "had different views about social reform legislation," that St. Laurent held a laissez-faire approach while Martin's "interventionist bias hinged on using the power of government to achieve social advancement."[94]

Old Age Security

Substantial progress in using the power of the Dominion government emerged with the next incremental step in social security advance: the adoption of a new program of old age security and the associated changes in old age and blindness pensions. Although the essential elements of what became the 1951 legislation had been outlined in the 1945 Green Book Proposals, the costs the measures would entail were increasingly recognized as formidable. To address the cost issue, Martin began to advocate a contributory scheme. In Parliament he stated that "until such time as we have a contributory system of old age pensions, I say it is irresponsible to talk about the elimination of the means test."[95] This continued to be his position following the appointment in March 1952 of a joint parliamentary committee on old age security, and he believed that the contributory approach was favoured by the chairman of the committee, Jean Lesage.

The Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Old Age Security met 31 times between April 3 and June 21, 1950, providing a remarkably wide-ranging review of security measures for the aged, nationally and internationally. It sought detailed information on old age security provisions in other countries, including Australia, New Zealand, Britain, Sweden, Denmark and the United States. Special importance was attached to officials of Canada's various federal government departments, including Labour, Veterans Affairs, Justice, Finance, and Health and Welfare. The official from Finance was Mitchell Sharp, who was destined in later years to become Minister of Finance.

By a wide margin, the most extensive testimony was that given by Dr. Davidson, who attended all of the committee's sessions and was the principal witness in more than a third of them. His testimony covered every aspect of current income security for the elderly in Canada, and described similarities with comparable programs abroad. The quality of his testimony was praised by the joint chairman of the committee and the committee as a whole; it firmly established his standing among members of Parliament.[96]

In its report, the Joint Committee accepted the view of its members that a new two-level program must extend to persons over the age of 65, contrasting with the existing program covering only those over 70. It focused on three possible models: old age assistance, involving a means test; an insurance system requiring work-related contributions; and a universal system providing benefits without a test of means, need or income and paid to every person over the age of 70 who met "a suitable residence qualification."

The committee's unanimously adopted "opinion" resulted in action by Parliament in 1950 to enact the new Old Age Assistance Program for persons 65 to 70 and the Old Age Security Program for persons over 70. This was an achievement of the greatest importance to the country's senior citizens, and was also of notable value to the population at large. Many of the committee members, however, expressed the view that additional measures would ultimately be required – a prophesy borne out in the establishment of the Canada Pension Plan in 1965. It was then that the contributory provision that Paul Martin had thought would be needed for the 1950 programs became essential. Fortunately, the necessary constitutional provision had been made.

The new social security measures for the aged, with their increased expenditures and extended coverage, constituted a major increase in the work of the Welfare Branch. Dr. Davidson had not abandoned, in government, the disinclination he had shown in his earlier posts to add structures or personnel unless unarguably essential. Accordingly, the new program for the group between the ages of 65 and 70 was assigned to the old age assistance division, now the Old Age and Blindness Assistance Division under the direction of Wilkie Macfarlane. The new universal program for those over 70 was carried by the division already managing a universal program, family allowances. It was renamed the Family Allowance and Old Age Security Division, headed by R.B. Curry.

The Disabled Persons Act

The success that health measures and a variety of social services had achieved in rehabilitating individuals disabled in wartime wounding and in industrial and traffic accidents led to a movement for the establishment of wide-ranging measures for rehabilitation. Dr. Davidson and many others both in and out of government hoped to have such measures in place before a further income security measure for the disabled was demanded. Many believed that an income program for disabled persons would constitute a disincentive to the full use of rehabilitation capabilities.

This goal was not attained, however, before the skillfully led pension movement made it politically essential to add another federal–provincial shared cost program to the existing programs for the aged and blind. Health and Welfare Canada was called upon by the Prime Minister and Cabinet to prepare legislation for the new *Disabled Persons Act*, which was then passed by Parliament in 1954. It became the third of what were called categorical assistance programs: the categories of aging, blindness and disability. Just as a test of the degree of loss of sight was needed in the blindness allowance program, a test of the extent of disability in both medical and social terms was required for the new program. Applicants over the age of 18 were tested to determine severe and total disability as well as their financial means.

Unemployment Assistance

In the mid-1950s, strong pressure emerged for the establishment of another and broader shared cost program – unemployment assistance. The origin of the program is traceable to the Depression of the 1930s, when over a quarter of the workforce was unemployed and the measures taken by the three levels of government were piecemeal and grossly inadequate. The Dominion government had long held that meeting the needs of the unemployed was a responsibility of the provinces and their municipalities. All the senior government agreed to do was to provide relief money on a year-to-year basis and to set up work camps like those in British Columbia referred to in Chapter 6. The provinces argued, and their views became generally accepted, that while they could be held responsible for the core group of persons who were unemployable, the responsibility for the employable unemployed had to be assumed by the Dominion government – the government with the economic powers to manage the economy and also the resources, including the taxing power, to affect the level of employment and assume, on a permanent basis, responsibility for those unemployed people deemed to be employable – often referred to as "able-bodied."

This, in essence, was the position reached by a Royal Commission established by the Liberal government when it resumed office in 1935, the National Employment Commission. On the basis of a thorough investigation, the Commission recommended two new programs: unemployment insurance and unemployment assistance.

Its case for unemployment insurance was acted upon in 1940. Based on the British model, Canada's *Unemployment Insurance Act*, which required the establishment of a fund from which benefits would be paid, had the good fortune of starting at the beginning of a period of full employment. The program won wide acceptance and formed a highly creditable step in the development of the nation's social security system.

The National Employment Commission was less successful in agreeing on the nature of an unemployment assistance program. A majority of its members recommended a second fully national program, separate from but closely associated with unemployment insurance. In simplified terms, it proposed a system of unemployment assistance offices next door to unemployment insurance offices. They would provide less-generous benefits than provided to those who had built up entitlement while employed. Those eligible would be persons with less than full unemployment entitlement, and those who were able-bodied but had not been able to find employment.

The four members of the National Employment Commission who brought in the majority report had impressive credentials: Arthur Purvis, a powerful Montreal corporate leader; a prominent labour leader, Tom Moore; a Liberal member of Parliament from the farming community in Western Canada, E.J. Young; and an experienced public official, William Mackintosh, who was later to become a charter member of the mandarins influential in framing the Green Book Proposals. The Commission's fifth and only woman member, Mary Sutherland, brought forward a minority opinion opposing a federally managed unemployment assistance system.

It was in the Green Book Proposals that the best description was to be found of the majority report's model of unemployment assistance. The terms of the program were outlined in detail by Humphrey Mitchell, the Minister of Labour, who noted that payments for unemployment assistance would come out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund and not out of the Unemployment Insurance Fund.

The Dominion government had anticipated that the end of the war in 1945 would be followed by large-scale unemployment requiring the implementation of its unemployment assistance proposal. However, employment in the immediate post-war years was remarkably abundant, and the unemployment assistance proposal dropped from sight for almost 10 years.

Unemployment emerged in the mid-1950s as a sizeable problem following the end of the Korean War, when an economic slump interrupted the post-war boom. As unemployment levels rose, the problems that confronted the provinces, municipalities and voluntary agencies caused a rapid and sustained outcry for action by the national government. The Prime Minister and the Cabinet resisted the repeated calls for action, hoping for an economic upturn.

The non-governmental organization that led the campaign for federal action was the Canadian Welfare Council, under the dynamic leader who had succeeded George Davidson, R.E.G. "Dick" Davis. Following a number of unsuccessful attempts to induce the federal government to hold a national conference on unemployment, the Council decided on the bold measure of announcing its own conference, inviting federal and provincial representatives. When several provinces indicated that they would attend, the Prime Minister realized, in the words of the historian James Struthers "that such a conference, coming in the aftermath of Canada's worst winter of unemployment since the 1930s, would become a public relations disaster for his government."[97] Accordingly, Prime Minister St. Laurent called a federal–provincial conference "to discuss unemployment and the Council agreed to cancel its conference, confident that the federal government would have to announce a new unemployment assistance measure."[98]

By the time of the Federal–Provincial Conference of October 1955, the national government had radically changed its views on the form that an unemployment assistance program should take. This proved to be a vindication of the position Mary Sutherland had taken in the minority report.

Mary Sutherland, who had started her career as a teacher in a Prairie school, emerged as an effective leader in the Progressive Party during the 1920s. When the prospects of that party faded, Mary Sutherland, like many others, was induced by Mackenzie King to join the Liberals. He gave her a number of opportunities to express her views, the most important as a member of the National Employment Commission. During its deliberations, Mrs. Sutherland became convinced that unemployment assistance should not be operated by the federal government but rather be carried out closer to where people worked and where greater flexibility in its administration could be offered. It should, therefore, be a program that the federal government might help to fund but leave to the provinces to administer.

That view triumphed in the new federal–provincial shared cost program, unemployment assistance, that emerged from federal–provincial discussions in 1955 and 1956.

The talks were based on earlier views of the apportioning of responsibility for the unemployed. The proportion of those who were unemployable (recently reduced in number because of the programs for the aged, the blind and the disabled) were held to be the responsibility of the province (or, by delegation, of their municipalities). Those who were out of work but employable were seen as the victims of economic conditions that could be dealt with only by the central government; thus, employables were the responsibility of the federal government.

Given that analysis, the question was how, other than by a costly and dubious case-by-case determination of what person was unemployable and what person was not, a more manageable basis should be found to determine the apportioning of financial responsibility between the two levels of government.

The solution was to employ statistics: for the federal and provincial governments to select and agree upon a figure deemed to constitute the unemployable component of the population. Figures of one per cent and 0.5 per cent were considered, but the provinces argued that their social assistance statistics pointed to a smaller percentage: 0.45 per cent. This figure was agreed upon in principle in the special conference called in June 1955, and again at the general federal–provincial conference in October. Between then and the following June, George Davidson played a leading role in securing agreements with the provinces. Success was achieved with six provinces by the end of the fiscal year: Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia, with the effective date of July 1, 1955 (January 1 for New Brunswick).

Dr. Davidson also had the major role in developing the legislation that had to be enacted in the spring session of the 1956 Parliament. When Paul Martin brought it to the Commons in June, he recognized the truth of John Diefenbaker's criticism that there had not been sufficient time for a fully matured bill. However, by agreeing to a small amendment moved by Mr. Diefenbaker, Martin secured passage of the *Unemployment Assistance Act* on June 25, 1956.

The *Unemployment Assistance Act* of 1956, though having essentially the same fifty-fifty basis of federal–provincial sharing as the categorical assistance programs, differed in many important respects. It left to the provinces the terms, conditions and amounts of the assistance granted to persons who were unemployed and in need. The coverage was not limited to single individuals; the amount granted to meet the needs of the applicant and his dependents was shareable. Although assistance to persons in certain types of institutions was not shareable, this did not apply to what the Act called "homes for special care." These were nursing homes, hostels for indigent transients, homes for the aged, poor houses, alms houses and hostels provided for the aged within housing projects constructed under the provisions of the *National Housing Act.* The inclusion of persons in homes for special care was of major importance because of the numbers of eligible recipients in the new program as well as because of the precedent it established for later programs. Excluded from those to be covered by the legislation were persons receiving mothers' allowances – a means-tested program that all provinces had already established.

Payments were made to the six participating provinces for the 1956–57 fiscal year, and negotiations continued with the provinces that had not signed agreements: Nova Scotia wanted a different exclusion formula than the one agreed to by the initial six provinces; Quebec was opposed to a program that it deemed to be an invasion of its provincial jurisdiction; Alberta was opposed to the provision requiring a province to grant assistance to persons from other provinces; Ontario objected strongly to the funding formula, asserting that there should be fifty-fifty sharing in the social assistance costs of both the employable and the unemployable.

With the victory of the national Progressive Conservative Party in June 1957, the Conservative government of Ontario, perhaps receiving a reward for assisting the election of the Diefenbaker government, was successful in pressing its case. Accordingly, the Act was revised by removing the 0.45 formula. This meant that federal sharing extended to the whole of a province's social assistance caseload. As amended, the *Unemployment Assistance Act* 1957 became effective in December of that year.

In introducing the revised Act in Parliament, the new Minister, Waldo Montieth, predicted that it would mean a four-fold increase in the federal government's 1956–57 payments. That proved to be a modest prophesy. Federal payments two years later, 1959–60, exceeded $40 million, and the number of persons assisted was over 300,000. Costs were destined to continue to rise through the life of the program as unemployment increased and as provincial social assistance programs provided more adequate assistance to those eligible.

Dr. Davidson, as the principal draftsman of the Act, knew both its strengths and weaknesses. The weaknesses of the Act included its lack of a preamble stating its purpose. Although it was the most innovative social assistance measure ever enacted by the national government, eliminating many poor-law practices, it was subject to misuse by provinces wishing to extend it beyond its intended, but not clearly spelled out, limits. Its strengths included the flexible basis on which eligibility for sharing was based, as well as the breadth of its coverage. Although, in a sense, another categorical assistance program, one for those unemployed and in need, it held the promise of being transformed into a measure that could absorb all assistance recipients irrespective of their age, blindness or other disability.

Civil Defense

In addition to the income security programs that were central to its work, the Welfare Branch, in the mid-1950s, was assigned the principal responsibility for civil defense. This was a reflection of the international tensions of the Cold War, heightened during the Korean War: Canada, faced with the possibility of a direct Soviet attack, began to develop a nationwide defense system that, among other strategic considerations, had to prepare for the safety of the civilian population. The extensive and complicated features of the program required civilian and military collaboration. Accordingly, the first Director of Civil Defence, with reporting responsibility to both Paul Martin and George Davidson, was a renowned military figure: Major General F.F. Worthington. Not long after his appointment, he made the headlines in every newspaper by assailing the government for not doing enough for civil defence. In the words of Paul Martin, "My deputy, George Davidson, spoke to me about the speech and we decided that unless Worthington issued a retraction he would have to go. Swallowing hard, Worthington withdrew his remarks."[99]

Civil defence required the full participation of the provinces and municipalities, and Dr. Davidson's organizational and community relationship skills were brought into play to make the program fully nationwide. As the program matured and became increasingly complex, he encouraged its separation from the Welfare Branch. Civil Defence became a separate entity within the Department.

Hospital Insurance

At the same time that the Unemployment Assistance Program was being developed, another of the Green Book Proposals, health insurance, was brought to the fore – primarily through the persistent endeavours of Paul Martin. He had decided that the component of comprehensive health insurance that was practicable in the 1950s was hospital insurance. He, along with allies in his own and other political parties, set out to build support for the measure and to overcome opposition to it. Some opposition from outside government came from the insurance industry. Martin was "amazed and distressed" to find among its spokesmen the President of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, Brooke Claxton, who, while in government, had been a strong supporter of public health insurance.[100] Other points of opposition were in certain provinces and, no less, in the federal Cabinet.

Bringing provincial governments into agreement was a slow process, but it was assisted by the evidence in opinion polls that public demand for hospital insurance was growing across Canada. Similarly impressed with the need to respond, Cabinet decided that a hospital insurance measure could go forward when at least six provinces with 60 per cent of the population agreed to participate. Securing approval of both the Cabinet and the provinces required the development of an acceptable formula for federal sharing in hospital costs. This was complicated by the wide variation among provinces in the level of hospital costs, with the wealthier provinces having more developed and costlier hospital systems than the less wealthy provinces, which, for a variety of reasons, had lower-cost hospitals. Paul Martin looked to his departmental officials to propose a viable sharing formula. This led to protracted discussions in which George Davidson participated, though not a member of the Department's Health Branch, which bore the responsibility in this health-centred area. Perhaps his experience in the voluntary field or perhaps drawing upon some analogy from ancient Greece, George Davidson was the official who proposed the formula that was accepted. The solution was a formula partly based on an averaging of the provinces' actual hospital costs and partly on the usual fifty-fifty basis. It thus extended differential funding that provided larger federal payments to the poorer provinces than to the wealthier provinces that had been able to develop more sophisticated and costly hospital systems. This solution that had eluded others was proposed not by a health economist but by a classical scholar. George Davidson's role in slicing the Gordian knot, though known to his Minister and his public service colleagues, was not a matter for wider disclosure.

Dr. Davidson experienced a third change of ministers with the election of the Progressive Conservative party in 1957. He had enjoyed cordial and trusting relations with both Brooke Claxton and Paul Martin, and this would also be the case with his new minister, Waldo Montieth. In their first report to him, Dr. Davidson and Dr. Cameron, speaking for the staff of the Department, assured Mr. Monteith that he could "look forward to the same wholehearted cooperation and support which its members accorded the previous administration."[101]

Waldo Montieth, elected to the House of Commons in 1953 and again in 1957, was a chartered accountant and the head of an accounting firm based in Stratford, Ontario, with a branch in Oshawa. He was from a well-established Conservative family, his father having been a member of the Ontario legislature and a cabinet minister in the Ferguson Government in the 1920s. Stratford, the Montieths' ancestral home, was named after Stratford-upon-Avon. Like its English model, the Ontario Stratford is situated on an Avon River and is similarly devoted to the works of William Shakespeare. By the time Montieth was appointed Health and Welfare Minister, the city was known for its initiative in establishing the Stratford Festival, which was beginning to show the promise it later achieved as an internationally acclaimed centre for drama and music.

Waldo Montieth, though closely associated with his profession and the interests of Western Ontario, had a background that included education at Trinity College, University of Toronto, and a well-rounded interest in community affairs. He had been active on the boards of the Children's Aid Society and the Community Chest, and had served as mayor of Stratford in the mid-1940s. Although not displaying the ideological commitment to social programs of his predecessors as Minister of Health and Welfare, he supported the welfare programs that they had worked to achieve. He carried through the legislation in process, notably the *Hospital Services and Diagnostic Services Act.* As noted earlier, Montieth also brought in the 1957 amendment to the *Unemployment Assistance Act* that had greatly strengthened that measure.

The three years George Davidson would have with Waldo Montieth as his minister (July 1957 to July 1960) were not marked by large, new policy measures. They were, however, characterized by solid accomplishment in bringing to maturity the range of programs in which George Davidson had played a part since 1944: Family Allowances, Old Age Assistance, Blind Persons Allowances, Disabled Persons Allowances, Old Age Security, Physical Fitness, Unemployment Assistance and, to a lesser degree, Hospital Insurance. As stated in prefaces of the Deputy Ministers' annual reports, "both the new and accelerated activities of the department have a significant and lasting effect upon the health and welfare of the Canadian people."[102]

That recognition of the vital importance of the work in which his Branch was engaged was manifested in George Davidson's style of administration. In the case of programs newly enacted or assigned to the Welfare Branch, he remained closely involved until a sound organization system was worked out and competent directors and staff selected and oriented. Once appointed, directors were given a full measure of responsibility. He remained close to programs that depended on federal–provincial partnerships, and employed all the available modes of communication. He was particularly noted for lengthy letters to provincial deputies exploring issues in detail and from various vantage points. Elegantly expressed and seemingly designed to clarify and objectively explore complex points, Davidson's letters managed never to compromise or weaken the federal position.

International Connections

George Davidson believed that his work as Deputy Minister was enhanced by his extensive international involvement, both in the voluntary sector and as Canadian representative on various organs of the United Nations. Dr. Davidson welcomed participation in the International Conference of Social Work (ICSW), an organization that, from its origin in 1928, had been the foremost non-governmental leader in the international advancement of social work and social welfare. Its biennial conferences, interrupted during the Second World War, resumed in 1948. Embracing both governmental and professional organizations and individuals committed to social causes, it attracted wide attention in Canada and among welfare leaders in many countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and South America, while drawing its strongest support from the United States. In bringing together both governmental and non-governmental sectors in the promotion of human welfare, the ICSW held a strong interest for George Davidson. He attended most of its biennial conferences. At the Munich conference in August 1956, Dr. Davidson was elected President of the Conference for the period 1956–1960, which included the Conference of 1958 in Toronto and of 1960 in Tokyo. It was a source of pride to Canadians in the social welfare field to have this important position held, and carried with distinction, by a Canadian.

Dr. Davidson's long service to various United Nations bodies began in 1946. He was a member of Canadian delegations in succeeding years, and was frequently called upon to chair committees of the Economic and Social Council. He encouraged the participation of senior officials of the Department of Health and Welfare to be on Canadian delegations to the General Assembly, Technical Committees on Old Age Security, the Columbo Plan and the Board of the International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF). Dr. Davidson's executive assistant, Adelaide Sinclair, made increasingly important contributions to that organization and in 1957 was granted leave of absence from the Welfare Branch to assume the post of Deputy Director of UNICEF.

Although highly esteemed within the Canadian social welfare community for his contributions nationally and internationally, Dr. Davidson came under criticism by the Canadian Welfare Council for not bringing social work forward more prominently in existing or new federal government programs. As examples, the Council noted that no action had been taken to establish a national welfare council comparable to the longstanding National Council of Health, and no welfare grant program had emerged for social work, which would achieve for social work personnel the dramatic advancement that the National Health Grants Program had brought to health care personnel. The situation was dramatized by experience with the two categories of social work eligible for training grants under the Health Grants Program: medical social work and psychiatric social work. Each of these was greatly enlarged and strengthened. Both the Canadian Welfare Council and the Canadian Association of Social Workers lobbied the federal government at the political level, but Dick Davis, the Executive Director of the Canadian Welfare Council, believed that action must be initiated by George Davidson. To lend weight to his campaign, Davis brought his President, Philip Fisher, along with other CWC board members, to a private meeting with Davidson. Together they voiced a strong call for action. Though making the point that program initiatives of the nature and magnitude they were demanding required decisions at the political level, Dr. Davidson accepted the validity of their case and stated his willingness to advance it at the official level. It was his successor, Joseph Willard, however, who was to carry to completion the establishment of a National Welfare Council and the Welfare Grants Program.

A vital aspect of a deputy minister's role is to support his minister's presentations in Parliament. This refers not only to preparation and interpretation of new and amended legislation but also to politically perceptive briefings on issues raised in the House of Commons. The daily question period provides opposition parties with the opportunity, indeed the duty, to criticize the government's policies and administration. The manner in which a minister responds to searching questions, often politically loaded, will determine his parliamentary standing, can affect his career, and may even decide the fate of a government.

Deputy Minister, Citizenship and Immigration

The high regard in which George Davidson was held by his ministers was indicative of the soundness of his advice and value of his briefing notes for the minister's daily exposure to the assaults of the opposition critics and also of the media, eager to give headline prominence to any ministerial misstep. George Davidson was seen as a deputy with a good record at keeping his ministers out of trouble in the Commons. It appeared to be this assessment that contributed to his being moved in 1960 from the post he enjoyed in Health and Welfare to that of Deputy Minister in the Department of Citizenship and Immigration.

A number of farewell events at Health and Welfare expressed the loss felt at George Davidson's departure. These gave him and others an opportunity to reflect on his role in the remarkable accomplishments of his 16 years in the Department: in the fields of income security, welfare services, physical fitness and civil defence, and in the general strengthening of the social fabric of Canada.

In individual farewell discussions with senior members of the Department, Dr. Davidson discussed objectives that they had formulated together but that were still to be realized. With Wilkie

Macfarlane, director of the categorical assistance programs, he confirmed their current importance as well as their likely future incorporation in a broader social assistance measure. He made the same point to Richard Splane, briefly his executive assistant, who had become Director of Unemployment Assistance. He gave Splane the welcome advice that he should spend as much energy in working toward the development of a new comprehensive social assistance and welfare services program as in administering the existing measure.

Dr. Davidson was pleased that he was being succeeded by Dr. Joseph Willard, who had made the Research Division into the most forward-looking part of Health and Welfare. They discussed the two as-yet-unfulfilled measures of the Green Book Proposals: a further strengthening of income security for the aged, and medical care insurance. In respect to the former, Mr. Diefenbaker had appointed an economist, Dr. Robert Clark, to prepare a thorough report on the subject, and Dr. Willard had assigned a member of the Research Division staff, Douglas Allen, to assist in its preparation. In respect to medical care insurance, Dr. Willard had accelerated the work of the Division, providing much of the data needed for a second report commissioned by the Diefenbaker Government, the Hall Report (the 1964 *Report of the Royal Commission on Health Services*). Dr. Davidson may well have regretted that he would not be a key figure in creating these remaining components of the Canadian welfare state, but he was pleased that the endeavour was proceeding under the direction of Joe Willard. Although it took another eight turbulent years before the Canadian Pension Plan, the Canada Assistance Plan and the *Medical Care Act* brought the Canadian welfare state to near completion, George Davidson's earlier contributions had played an indispensable part.

George Davidson's official reassignment from Health and Welfare to Citizenship and Immigration, where he would serve from July 1960 to December 1962, was revealingly described by his new minister, Ellen Fairclough, in her autobiography.

> Following the problems we experienced in 1959 I knew that something had to be done to improve the department's image. I told Diefenbaker that I wanted a new deputy minister and suggested Dr. George Davidson, then a deputy at Health and Welfare. I do not think he relished the move, but as a good civil servant he accepted his new assignment with grace, and it was a happy day for me when George joined the department.[103]

Ellen Louks Fairclough was, like Davidson's previous minister, a chartered accountant. She was the owner of her own accounting firm and a highly respected citizen of Hamilton, Ontario. She served on Hamilton's city council in the late 1940s, then in the 1950 by-election she was elected to Parliament where she served as the Opposition labour critic until the election of the Progressive Conservative party in 1957. At that point she became Canada's first female Cabinet minister, serving first as Secretary of State, then in 1958 becoming Minister of what was known to be a difficult, politically assailable department, Citizenship and Immigration. In addition to the central responsibilities of the Department, the Minister was responsible for Indian Affairs. Moreover, she also answered in Parliament for five federal entities: the Dominion Carillonneur, the National Film Board, the National Gallery of Canada, the Public Archives/National Library, and the Royal Canadian Mint.[104]

These various responsibilities added to the Minister's need to have a deputy minister with the educational and cultural credentials possessed by George Davidson. The Minister also credited Davidson with valuable experience in public relations, so essential in dealing with the range and sensitivity of the issues that emerged almost daily in Parliament and the media.

The House of Commons from 1958 to the early 1960s was dominated numerically by the Progressive Conservatives, who held 208 of its 265 seats. The relatively small number of Opposition members, however, included a group of Liberals with long parliamentary experience and the capacity to expose any weakness that could be discovered in the policies and performance of government departments. The group included Lester Pearson, Lionel Chevrier, Paul Martin and Jack Pickersgill. The last-mentioned had been the previous minister of Citizenship and Immigration, and was able to make political points on a range of issues relating to Indians, refugees and immigrants.

The development of improved policies to deal with flawed practices was the solution often sought by the Minister, who brought to the portfolio considerable administrative skill and relevant experience. In respect to immigration, the most demanding component of her combined functions, she noted that "with George Davidson's help, our government was able to bring in new immigration regulations, which ... marked the beginning of reform."[105] Davidson's work during his brief period in the Department was, indeed, primarily in the field of immigration and only to a lesser extent with advancing the concept of citizenship respecting the population at large and with the Aboriginal people.

Indian Affairs

Indian Affairs had been transferred to Citizenship and Immigration from the Department of Mines and Resources in 1958. Although this appeared to indicate a new approach, there had been little change in the senior management. The director of the program, H.M. Jones, still insisting on his wartime title of Colonel, headed the Indian Affairs Branch. Although occasionally expressing reformist sentiments, he did little to change the repressive policies that had characterized Indian affairs from the mid-19th century.

The Minister took some steps to improve relations with Indians, introducing legislation in 1960 to give status Indians the right to vote in federal elections. She also made many goodwill visits to Indian reserves, where she "was always received with the utmost courtesy."[106] She was undoubtedly unaware of what John Melling of the National Commission on the Indian Canadian described as the "bitterness behind every smiling face."[107]

Davidson's assessment of the enormity of the Indian question was spelled out in an address he gave at a conference of the Canadian Education Association in 1962:

> It is not so very many decades since Canadian governments and the bulk of Canadian people salved their consciences and assuaged their sense of guilt and responsibility – if indeed they had any feeling of guilt and responsibility – by supporting in meagre fashion the work of the churches, church schools and voluntary 'do-good' organizations in the field of Indian affairs.
>
> Government, as such, contented itself with the most limited discharge of its bare responsibilities under the treaties contracted with various Indian bands; with the introduction of the rule of law through all parts of the country through the R.C.M.P.; and with a strictly limited range of administrative, health and other services, designed to spend as little public money as possible – enough perhaps to keep our Indian population from falling back too far, but not enough certainly to assure even the barest minimum of progress or recovery from the pathetic state in which they had been left, as a result of the white man's take-over of the country.[108]

During his brief period in Citizenship and Immigration, Davidson did not have an opportunity to initiate the massive overturning of policies and the introduction of the fundamental new policies his analysis envisaged and that would, in fact, be on the Canadian agenda for the rest of the 20th century and into the new millennium.

Dr. Davidson's reassignment to new duties after his short stay in Citizenship and Immigration meant a lesser legacy than in his earlier roles in government and the voluntary sector. Because of the values he held and the depth of his understanding of issues such as "the Indian question," Davidson was able to influence policies in the Department in vital, if less discernable, ways. He carried with him the gratitude of his Minister, with whom he retained a friendly association through later years.

Chapter 10

Senior Mandarin:
Bureau of Government Organization
Treasury Board

George Davidson's appointment to duties at the very centre of government was announced by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons on December 20, 1962. It was among Mr. Diefenbaker's measures to implement the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Government Organization. For that purpose a new body, the Bureau of Government Organization, was established and placed under the direction of the Minister without Portfolio, Senator Wallace McCutcheon, together with five other ministers and a working group of public officials.

The officials making up the working group were, in the words of the Prime Minister, "to be headed by Dr. G.F. Davidson, deputy minister of citizenship and immigration, who is being seconded to the privy council and will work full time on this program."[109]

The Royal Commission on Government Organization, better known as the Glassco Commission, was of utmost significance to George Davidson's career from 1962 to 1968. The Commission, formally appointed in September 1960, consisted of three commissioners: J. Grant Glassco, Robert Watson Sellar, and F. Eugene Therrien. It was given very broad powers and was notable for the strong, often politically charged, interest it elicited in Parliament, the media, and major segments of the public. The commissioners were "to inquire into and report upon the organization and methods of operation of the departments and agencies of the Government of Canada and to recommend the changes therein which they consider would best promote efficiency, economy and improved service in the dispatch of public business."[110]

To ensure that the commissioners were more specifically informed on what to look for and to recommend, they were instructed "to report upon steps that may be taken for the purpose of

- eliminating duplication and overlapping of services;
- eliminating unnecessary or uneconomic operations;
- achieving efficiency or economy through further decentralization of operations and administration;
- achieving improved management of departments and agencies, or portions thereof, with consideration to organization, methods of work, defined authorities and responsibilities, and provision for training;
- making more effective use of budgeting, accounting and other financial measures as means of achieving more efficient and economical management of departments and agencies;
- improving efficiency and economy by alterations in the relations between government departments and agencies, on the one hand, and the Treasury Board and other central control or service agencies of the government on the other; and
- achieving efficiency or economy through reallocation or regrouping of units of the public service."[111]

The breadth of the instructions to the commissioners gave evidence of the widely held view that the post-war expansion in the size and complexity of government had not been managed with sufficient care and efficiency. The growth in government could be illustrated by comparing its size in 1944, when George Davidson entered the public service, with that in 1960, when the Glassco Commission began its work. Although 1944 was a wartime year and reflected the growth in public services that had been required for the country's military and civilian needs, the number of public servants in that year numbered under 39,000 compared with over 130,000 in 1960; the federal budget had grown from some $600 million to over $6 billion; and the wealth of the country, as measured by the gross national product, had risen from $12 billion to $38 billion – more than a threefold increase.

Although the Diefenbaker government had been in power for three years before appointing the Glassco Commission, it anticipated that the deficiencies in the organization and operation of government that the Commission would expose would be attributed largely to mismanagement by Liberal governments, which had held power from 1935 to 1957, as well as for nearly 10 years leading up to 1930. Thus it could, arguably, be deemed responsible for what John Diefenbaker described as "the governmental administrative jungle that has accumulated through the years and has mushroomed since the second world war."[112]

The Commission produced a number of interim reports on aspects of its assignment. Although the final report was not completed until after the defeat of the Progressive Conservative Government in April 1963, Mr. Diefenbaker was anxious to have a strong organization at work on the existing recommendations by the end of 1962. The two appointments he was able to announce, those of Senator McCutcheon and Dr. Davidson, were designed to emphasize the importance the government attached to the implementation of the recommendations.

The McCutcheon appointment was a high-profile event. It was meant to improve the Diefenbaker government's showing in opinion polls and strengthen the Cabinet, which had been weakened by internal conflicts. It would also demonstrate that the government had secured a highly placed leader from the corporate world to ensure that strong business practices would be to the fore in implementing the Glassco proposals. McCutcheon's credentials for the role were impressive. He had served within the national government during World War II on the Wartime Prices and Trade Board as one of the "dollar-a-year-men." He then became a key associate of E.P. Taylor, founder and President of Argus Corporation, an influential investment and holding company that had a controlling interest in a number of large Canadian companies. McCutcheon was reputed to be the "axe man," pruning the executive suites of the acquired companies.[113] During that period he was known to be in tune with corporate Canada's opposition to public expenditures on social programs. In the mid-

1950s, however, he was induced by Dick Davis, George Davidson's successor as executive director of the Canadian Welfare Council, to give heed to the case for public measures required to meet the social needs of broad sectors of the Canadian public. He became a celebrated convert to the values and goals of the Council, and accepted election to its board. In 1955 he became its president, and in 1957 presented a highly publicized and influential presidential address entitled "A Layman Looks at Welfare." In it, though critical of some elements of social welfare programs, he "affirmed the need which exists in modern industrialized society for substantial public welfare measures" and asserted that "enlightened businessmen recognize this as clearly as anyone else."[114]

Wallace McCutcheon would have known of Dr. Davidson's contributions to the Canadian Welfare Council and his highly regarded career in the public service. At the very least he would have welcomed Davidson's selection as head of the group of officials who would be working with him in implementing the Glassco recommendations; he may well, indeed, have recommended Davidson's appointment.

The organization that was brought together in December 1962, the Bureau of Government Organization, could not be placed in any of the operational departments of the government because the efficiency of each could be under some degree of scrutiny. The new entity was accordingly assigned to the Privy Council Office, the prime minister's administrative agency.

The magnitude and complexity of the task faced by the Bureau of Government Organization can hardly be overstated. The Bureau found it had to begin, as had the Glassco Commissioners and their staff, by gaining an appreciation of how the national government should respond to the wide-ranging needs of a country approaching its hundredth year and characterized by a society and an economy undergoing unceasing change. The Bureau had also to recognize that their findings and recommendations must assist the government in improving the efficiency of both its policy development and its administration, or, in the Commissioners' preferred term, its management.

The Commission presented its findings under four broad headings: A Plan for Management, Financial Management, Personnel Management, and Paperwork and Systems Management. The Bureau found it helpful to organize its work within that broad framework but with sensitivity to the need for recommendations the government could adopt and point to in its reports to Parliament.

The Bureau needed also to pay some heed to how the Glassco recommendations were viewed by the Opposition parties in Parliament and by major sectors of the public. The Liberal Party, the Official Opposition in the House of Commons when the Bureau was formed, wanted to counter the government's partisan attempts to attribute the managerial flaws and wasteful expenditures it uncovered to the years the Liberals had held power. Accordingly, Liberal spokesmen made much of the years the Progressive Conservative party had been in government before the Commission was appointed – a period during which its expenditure increased by an average of a billion dollars annually. They also warned against blaming deficiencies on the Canadian civil service, "one of the best in the world."[115]

In similar vein, Stanley Knowles of the New Democratic Party (NDP), a frequent spokesman for public servants, called for legislation to provide "collective bargaining throughout the federal public service"[116] as a means of giving the bureaucracy the capacity to defend itself against becoming a scapegoat. Another member of the NDP, David Lewis, in reviewing the Commission's report, was critical of what he believed was its underlying philosophy based on "the proposition that the public service must be run like big business without consideration of the political objectives of government."[117]

Three important governmental entities that were complementary to the mandate of the Bureau were the offices of the Auditor General, the

Treasury Board, and the Comptroller General. The Office of the Auditor General was established by Parliament soon after Confederation to examine and report annually to the House of Commons on whether public funds have been spent economically and efficiently. Its reports, which aim to promote sound financial practices and draw attention to defects in the management of resources, constituted a valuable resource for the work of the Bureau. Similarly, the Treasury Board, also established early in the country's history, carries out annual reviews of public administration and financial management exercised through its secretariat headed by the Secretary of the Treasury Board. The Office of the Comptroller General was established in the early 1930s to ensure that funds voted by Parliament are used for the purposes intended and that the authority to spend is not exceeded.

A highly important matter for the immediate attention of the Bureau was a separate statement within the Report of the Royal Commission that was somewhat akin to a minority report. It was the "Separate Statement by Commissioner F. Eugene Therrien Q.C. on Bilingualism in the Federal Administration."[118] In this 10-page statement, Eugene Therrien noted with disapproval that the Commission as a whole had limited its study to particular aspects of bilingualism in the federal administration rather than a broad and thorough investigation of the subject. Although in agreement with all other parts of the Commission's report, Therrien felt it necessary to record his dissident view "based on constitutional, legal, and factual considerations."[119] He outlined the deficiencies of existing bilingual polices and practices in moderate but compelling terms and concluded that in the federal administration of Canada, bilingualism was not treated as an efficient instrument of administration; that the number of French-Canadian public servants at the higher level of the federal administration was insufficient; and that the existing policy of the administration regarding bilingualism was wasteful both of energy and money.[120]

The Therrien statement was constantly referred to in parliamentary debates in both the House of Commons and the Senate. It was to be instrumental as well in the bilingual policies of the Liberal Government elected in April 1963.

The new government, with Lester Pearson as Prime Minister, retained the Bureau of Government Organization and George Davidson continued as its Director. The political leadership of the program was under the President of the Privy Council, Maurice Lamontagne. On June 12, 1963, Lamontagne addressed the House of Commons and announced that the fifth and final report of the Glassco Commission had been received and that the Government was "pressing forward with a review of the recommendations particularly those which are expected to result in greater efficiency and flexibility in the public service."[121]

He made no reference to the work done by the previous government in establishing the Bureau and setting it in motion, referring only to "several recommendations of a relatively minor character having been agreed upon."[122] The reference of the new government to "flexibility" was one of two changes of emphasis that were apparent in its approach to implementing the Commission's report. The second was the importance it attached to bilingualism. In his opening statement, Lamontagne referred to the steps the government was taking "to ensure that the federal administration, including crown corporations, will be bilingual in character."[123] This would be manifest in the work of the Bureau and more formally in the Royal Commission the government had already established on bilingualism and biculturalism.

The reports that the President of the Privy Council gave later in 1963 on the work of the Bureau were attacked by the Opposition in the House of Commons for being vague and limited. Douglas Fisher, a prominent NDP member, was critical of what he described as the lack of depth in the statement the Minister made in November. In seeking to secure more substantial information on "what is going on," he asked whether the government was prepared "to make some provision when discussing the estimates to enable us to quiz the President of the Privy Council and Mr. Davidson who is advising him."[124]

Mr. Diefenbaker, now Leader of the Opposition, charged that the items listed in the Minister's report "are generally speaking, the insignificant recommendations that merely touch the edge of what the Glassco Commission was set up to accomplish." He made a more generalized criticism, namely that the government "is giving but lukewarm support" to the Glassco recommendations.[125]

That charge was unsubstantiated and the government proceeded to deal with the recommendations at two levels: one was to require each department and agency to examine what the Commissioners had identified as program or management defects to be corrected and to report on the corrective actions they were taking or proposed to take. The Ministerial head of the Bureau of Government Organization, Maurice Lamontagne, adopted this approach in letters to Ministers and heads of Crown corporations. The more substantive and prolonged correspondence was to the administrative heads of the programs written by the Director of the Bureau, George Davidson. Davidson's letters reflected the depth of his experience as a manager, the penetration of his analysis of the matters that required remedial action, and the polite firmness with which he addressed senior colleagues throughout the government.

As the responses to initial and follow-up communications came in and were assessed, Davidson reported the positive results that the Minister could report to Parliament as well as the matters on which continued work was needed. He prepared review documents on problem areas in which progress was limited.

The Government's complementary and more significant approach to the Glassco recommendations requires an examination of how those recommendations were to be accommodated within the totality of the Liberal Party's plan of action that had been developed for its anticipated return to office. That plan, many years in the making, reflected numerous factors. Among them was simply the experience of being in opposition in Parliament. Their opposition years began with the election of 1957, when the party's numbers in the House of Commons fell from 170 in 1953 to 105, only to drop to 48 in the devastating election of 1958 (against 208 for the Progressive Conservatives); rising to 99 in 1962 and then reaching 129 in 1963 (with the Progressive Conservatives holding 95 seats, the New Democratic Party [formerly the CCF] claiming 17 and the recently formed Social Credit Party, 24). This configuration allowed the Liberal Party to form the government, though lacking the 133 seats needed for majority control of the Commons.

A number of the principal figures in the new government had been among the mandarins credited by Professor Granatstein with having greatly influenced government policy between 1935 and 1957.[126] Lester Pearson had become Prime Minister, Norman Robertson was in his second term as Under Secretary of External Affairs, Robert Bryce was Deputy Minister of Finance, John Deutsch was about to become the first chairman of the Economic Council of Canada, Louis Rasminsky had begun his lengthy tenure as Governor of the Bank of Canada, Jack Pickersgill and Mitchell Sharp were both becoming strong ministers in the Government: Mitchell Sharp as Minister of Finance.

These and others had not forgotten the Liberal Party's wartime commitment, expressed in the Green Book Proposals, that the people of Canada would accept nothing less than new socio-economic policies and that economic planning and social welfare planning, exemplified in comprehensive nationwide social security, had to be carried forward together. The development of the policy formulations with which the Party appealed to the electorate in 1963 was undertaken within the Liberal movement by many groups and individuals reporting to Lester Pearson, as the Leader of the Opposition, or to the Resolutions Committee of the Party. Those involved in the process included Liberal Women, University Liberals, groups of Young Liberals and former ministers, notably Paul Martin. Vital leadership in this extensive endeavour came from two persons with skill in formulating, writing and presenting policy positions. These were Tom Kent and Maurice Lamontagne, both of whom would carry strong roles in the new government.

Tom Kent, who played a central role in the measures leading to the Liberal Party's return to power, had come from England. There, following brilliant careers at Oxford and in wartime intelligence service, he had carried editorial roles on the *Manchester Guardian* and *The Economist.* His arrival in Canada was to the editorship of the *Winnipeg Free Press,* from 1954 to 1959. He became a tireless promoter of Liberal causes, including advanced approaches to national problems. He held that

> Liberals need to shift the emphasis of their thinking a good many notches towards egalitarianism … We have to show that we really do want to create a much more equal society … a more skillful society … with emphasis on the need for greater human skills, for the maximum use of our brainpower … to clear away our nineteenth-century hangover about economic liberalism and gladly accept the more collectivist framework of contemporary economics and administration.[127]

Kent was a key figure in the various endeavours to restore the relevance and electability of the Liberal Party. Among them were the Kingston Conference of September 1960 and the National Liberal Rally of January 1961.

Among Tom Kent's closest associates in developing the policy position was Maurice Lamontagne, another outstanding thinker committed to the return to power of the Liberal Party. A graduate of Laval and Harvard, he had worked in the office of Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent in the mid-1950s where he played a role in the creation of the formula for revenue equalization in support of lower-income provinces, the creation of the Canada Council for the Arts and the events leading to the development of the *Unemployment Assistance Act.* In that last-mentioned role, Lamontagne collaborated with the principal author of the legislation, George Davidson, in his role as Deputy Minister of National Welfare.

In his ministerial post as President of the Privy Council, one of Maurice Lamontagne's many responsibilities was, as noted above, the implementation of recommendations of the Glassco Commission through the Bureau of Government Organization. The renewed linkage of Lamontagne and Davidson extended beyond the work of the Bureau. Through Lamontagne, George Davidson found himself associated with those who were again seeking to advance the progressive objectives of the Liberal Party that had been strongly to the fore through the 1940s and up to 1957 under his former ministers, Brooke Claxton and Paul Martin.

The new government's approach to the Glassco report was to view it not as a means of simply dealing with defects that had emerged in the administration of public programs but as an instrument for strengthening the government's capacity to carry out the proposals set out in its party platform and outlined, in general terms, in its initial Speech from the Throne. They were described as "part of an integrated whole, designed to restore and promote our society's economic health and social well-being." [128]

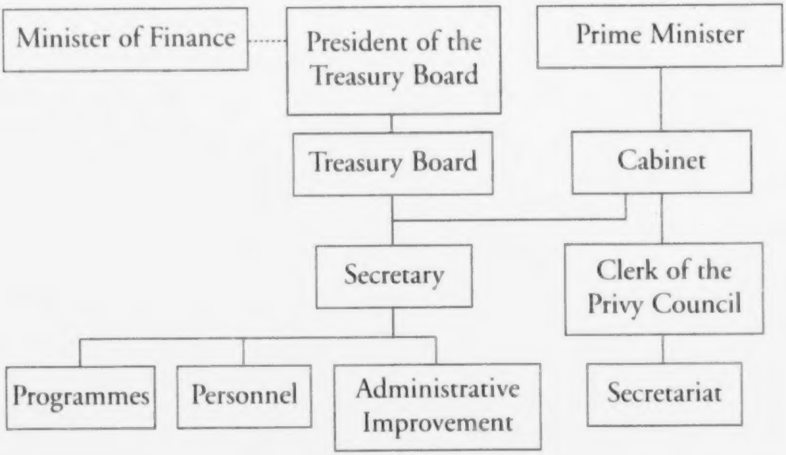
In moving acceptance of the Throne Speech, Pauline Jewett, a newly elected Liberal member, stated that carrying out its indicated mandate "must inevitably increase the role of government and lead to a greater degree of government regulation and intervention." She added that "the collectivist society in which we are living" calls for the "positive state" to become "more positive."[129] Public policy would be to the fore in the Pearson government to a degree not seen since the war years of the 1940s.

In reviewing the Glassco recommendations for measures that held promise for strengthening the whole range of organizational efficiency, the Government gave appropriate weight to one of the major proposals: the reconstitution of the Treasury Board. The upgrading of the Treasury Board was central to Glassco's General Plan of Management. The Plan and the Treasury Board's place in it were presented in the Glassco report in the following terms:

> At the centre of the plan lies the Cabinet, bearing the ultimate responsibility for government and cloaked with ultimate authority under the Crown and Parliament. Serving Cabinet and its committees, under the direction of the Clerk of the Privy Council, is the secretariat.
>
> The Treasury Board, as a committee of Cabinet presided over by a minister with no departmental responsibilities, is responsible by delegation for the co-ordination of programmes and the general management of the public service. Serving the Board – and, when necessary, Cabinet itself – are the Secretary and a compact, highly qualified staff.

The Plan was also shown as an organizational chart:

General Plan of Central Authority


Minister of Finance
President of the Treasury Board
Prime Minister
Treasury Board
Cabinet
Secretary
Clerk of the Privy Council
Programmes
Personnel
Administrative Improvement
Secretariat

The Commission's recommendations respecting financial management evoked serious consideration by the government. If accepted, they would require new legislation to redefine the roles and relationships of the Minister of Finance and the Treasury Board.

As mentioned earlier, the Treasury Board had been an important part of government throughout the country's history. What Glassco called for was a greatly enhanced role. It would continue to be a committee of the Cabinet headed by a president and five additional ministers. As shown in the organizational chart, it would maintain a linkage with the Minister of Finance. Its key figure continued to be the Secretary.

What the government decided and worked toward from 1963 to the adoption of the *Financial Administration Act* of 1966 was to establish the Treasury Board as a separate department of government under its own minister, the president of the Treasury Board. In previous years, the president of the Treasury Board had been the minister of Finance. This practice was criticized by Glassco on the grounds that the role of the minister of Finance should be economic and monetary policy, not also presiding over the range of questions affecting government expenditures. These would be the responsibility of the Treasury Board and although the minister of Finance would be one of the six cabinet ministers constituting the Treasury Board, he would no longer be its president.

George Davidson was at the centre of the developments leading to the statutory changes that created the new Treasury Board. For three years, from 1962 to 1966, he continued as Director of the Bureau on Government Organization. In 1964 he was also appointed Secretary of the Treasury Board and served under George McIlraith, who had succeeded Maurice Lamontagne as President of the Privy Council.

The assignment to him of these two roles indicated the Government's confidence in George Davidson's ability to carry heavy responsibilities and to function in circumstances of uncertainty. Within the government there were competing views about the powers that a reconstituted Treasury Board should exercise and where it should be located in the structure of government. The case for the Treasury Board retaining its close connection with Finance came from a former Finance minister, who noted that Treasury Board functions had been carried by junior ministers under the general direction of Finance ministers, thereby preserving close linkage within all aspects of financial policy.[130] Another view was that the new Treasury Board should come under the Privy Council Office and thus in closer view of the Prime Minister.

By the time the *Financial Administration Act* was being drafted, in the early months of 1966, it was clear that the Glassco recommendation would prevail. However, it was not until the Act was amended in February 1967, outlining the Responsibilities of Treasury Board, that the separate Treasury Board Ministry came into official being. George Davidson became its chief executive officer, Secretary of the Treasury Board, serving with the first president of the newly constituted Treasury Board, Edgar Benson.

During the years when Davidson was carrying the multiple responsibilities of the two roles, Director of the Bureau of Government Organization and Secretary of the Treasury Board (both as it had been and as it became under the new legislation), he had linkages through Tom Kent with ministers in various cabinet committees. Kent, who had worked closely with Lester Pearson during the Opposition years, and who was widely viewed as a major contributor to the Liberal Party's return to power, had become the Prime Minister's policy adviser and day-to-day coordinator of the work of the Cabinet committees.

Davidson worked closely as well with two of the most senior officials in government, Robert Bryce and Gordon Robertson. Robert Bryce, identified earlier as a member of the wartime Department of Finance and one of the mandarins associated with the Green Book Proposals, had served from 1954 to 1963 as Clerk of the Privy Council before returning to Finance as Deputy Minister. He was followed as Clerk of the Privy Council and Cabinet Secretary by Gordon Robertson, destined to become the most influential public servant in the Pearson and Trudeau governments. The successful transformation of the Treasury Board was, to a large degree, attributable to George Davidson's collaboration with these two commanding figures within the public service, as well as to the additional linkage to the Prime Minister through Tom Kent.

Davidson became more and more recognized as a foremost member of the mandarinate. Through special Orders in Council, his salary was raised three times in 1963 and again in 1966. In January 1967 he was one of the four most senior officials in the civil service, the other three being Robert Bryce, Gordon Robertson and Marcel Cadieux, Undersecretary of State for External Affairs.

Davidson's six years of carrying senior roles in financial and organizational management were less clearly linked to social policy than were his earlier period as deputy minister in departments with social development missions. However, being required in his roles in both the Bureau of Government Organization and the Treasury Board to deal critically with the managerial status of every part of the government of the country gave him, indirectly, an opportunity to observe the unfolding of social policy. Having played significant roles in all the social programs enacted since the 1940s, he would have continued as a supportive influence on those brought to fruition after his appointment to the central agencies, namely the Canada Assistance Plan, the Canada Pension Plan and the *Medical Care Act* (medicare). Davidson would have seen them as the culmination of plans and strategies born and matured in the years when he was a principal leader in advancing the values underlying the Green Book Proposals as well as of the social welfare objectives that he had espoused earlier while in non-government settings, notably as executive director of the Canadian Welfare Council.

Chapter 11

President of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

George Davidson's tenure as president of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation extended from February 1968 to July 1972. This was the fifth position he held in the public service of Canada, following posts as Deputy Minister of National Welfare, Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, Director of the Bureau of Government Organization, and Secretary of the Treasury Board. Each of the appointments had been made by the current prime minister: Mackenzie King, John Diefenbaker and Lester Pearson.

It was the quality of Dr. Davidson's work in the demanding role of Secretary of the Treasury Board and in his earlier positions that led to his being prevailed upon to assume the presidency of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). Mr. Pearson's account of the matter is set out in some detail in his memoirs:

> ...the post of top man in the CBC was, to my mind, the most difficult appointment my government had to make. And, to be perfectly frank, my difficulties in this regard were not made less by the fact that Miss LaMarsh was the Minister in charge of broadcasting. She felt strongly that she should be given the responsibility and that I should accept her recommendations without question. I was not able to do that. Of course, Miss LaMarsh did not like to have her judgment questioned in any matter and this prolonged the problem until she finally bowed out with: 'All right, you choose your own man.' I was looking for somebody who would, as head of the CBC, have a feeling for and a knowledge of the medium, its potential, and its operation, but not by any means a professional or an expert in broadcasting. ... I thought George Davidson, for many years a Deputy Minister and then Secretary of the Treasury Board, had the government

> background and organizational ability we needed. He had a broad understanding of human and social problems and, I felt, a real appreciation of the importance of broadcasting. I thought he was the right kind of man. The Minister did not agree. For that matter, neither did George Davidson. When he was approached at the very beginning of our search, he said: 'No. I'm not going to do it. I've had enough trouble in the Treasury Board. Why should I go from one frying pan into another fire?' But I finally persuaded him.[131]

Descending into the fire was not the only figure of speech Dr. Davidson used for the fate awaiting a president of the CBC. In a witty speech at an event honouring his past contributions and congratulating him on his new appointment, he used classical Latin for a more dramatic metaphor. It compared his prospects with that of gladiators at the Coliseum in Rome who were about to be thrust to the lions "Caesar, morituri te salutamus!" When this was turned into English it became the chillingly humorous "Hail, Caesar! We who are about to die, salute you!"

The comparison of the CBC to a Roman arena fraught with peril may not have seemed far-fetched to George Davidson as he viewed the state of the corporation when he was about to assume his new duties. In the opinion of Knowlton Nash, whose authoritative writing on the CBC reflected his work-based knowledge of the corporation, "the job was a mess."[132]

George Davidson and Laurent Picard, brought in by Davidson as the Corporation's vice-president, were branded in Parliament and by the *Globe and Mail* as persons without experience in broadcasting and lacking creative credentials. Dr. Davidson responded that there was indeed a gap in "my armoury of knowledge about broadcasting and I'll have to learn fast."[133] His record in all his previous undertakings testified both to his capacity to learn on the job and to the creative application of his rich intellectual qualities in numerous challenging settings. In commenting on the creativity charge, Davidson remarked that what was required was the ability to understand and encourage creativity – allowing it to flourish in others.

Although not previously engaged in broadcasting, George Davidson was far from being an indifferent bystander. His early life paralleled the birth and tumultuous development of Canadian broadcasting. He was constantly made aware that the great issues on broadcasting throughout his lifetime were public versus commercial dominance as well as the parallel matter of the threat to Canadian culture and identity of the prevalence and power of the American broadcasting industry.

During George Davidson's boyhood in New Westminster and his student years at UBC, radio was adding a new and exciting element in the life of the community. In 1927, the hookup of stations across the country made it possible for Canadian families everywhere to celebrate Canada's Diamond Jubilee with the magic of radio. This notable event drew urgent attention to the implications of radio for the enhancement of Canadian ways of life. It was clearly a matter for the Canadian Parliament so, in characteristic fashion, Parliament appointed a commission to study the matter and make recommendations on broadcasting policy. This was the Aird Commission, appointed in 1928. It took the name of its chairman, Sir John Aird, a practice the many other commissions and committees groping with broadcasting policy would follow in later years.

The Aird Commission urged that broadcasting be placed under national control: owned and operated by one authority. Charles Bowman, one of the three Aird Commissioners, stated that what had to be considered is "whether the Canadian people are to have Canadian independence in radio broadcasting or to become dependent upon sources in the United States."[134] And it required the urgent attention of Parliament. The Aird Report, however, was issued just a few weeks prior to "Black Thursday" in October 1929, which heralded the collapse of North American economies. This deterred Prime Minister Mackenzie King from any action on the report before the election of July 1930. The Liberal government of Mackenzie King was, at that point, replaced by the Conservative government of Richard Bedford Bennett.

George Davidson, halfway through his years at Harvard, may well have heard something of what was emerging as one of the most effective and prolonged lobbying endeavours in Canadian history: the movement for "Canadian radio for Canadians" pioneered and promoted by the Canadian Radio League (CRL). This remarkable organization was created by two brilliant Canadians, Graham Spry and Alan Plaunt. Both had strong connections in influential sections of Canadian society, both were Oxford graduates and admirers of the British Broadcasting Corporation, and both were firmly committed to the establishment and support of a national broadcasting system operated as a public undertaking.

The first of the many successes of the League was securing the support of Prime Minister R.B. Bennett. Though normally the champion of private enterprise, Bennett acted in 1932 to establish the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC), a public body designed to operate a national broadcasting system and to regulate Canadian broadcasting in its entirety.

Because of his strong interest in Canadian affairs, George Davidson would have learned of these developments, but they were remote from his most pressing concerns. During his Harvard years he was exposed to American radio broadcasting at a period when the National Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) and the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) were at their height and were not only saturating the airwaves in the United States, they were enjoying unchecked penetration of Canadian airspace.

George Davidson's first experience of broadcasting under public, as opposed to commercial, auspices, was during his travels in Europe in 1932–33. In all of the countries he visited, radio was under close governmental control. In Italy and Germany he would have seen it used to promote Fascism and Nazism, suppressing democratic government and individual freedom; only in France and Britain was radio under democratic control. He may well have shared the point of view of many Canadians who were visitors to Britain or students in British universities: that the BBC constituted a model of how radio could be used to strengthen the intellectual and cultural life of the nation as well as provide entertainment designed to please and enrich society at large.

On his return to British Columbia in 1933, Dr. Davidson found numerous radio stations competing for the listeners' attention and support, some of them carrying the CBS and NBC and other American programs he had known at Harvard. However, among his resumed connections, especially during the years that he was managing the Vancouver Social Welfare Federation and the Council of Social Agencies, he found strong support for the Canadian Radio League. And through Harry Cassidy he came to know and experience the influence of Graham Spry. Graham Spry, as noted earlier, was, along with Cassidy, a founding member of the League for Social Reconstruction.

Although his years of community work in the Victoria and Vancouver settings might have inclined Dr. Davidson to a local focus rather than responsiveness to wider horizons, his linkages with national organizations drew him to the CBC, whose mission was to strengthen Canadian society and also to put Canadians in touch with the Commonwealth and international affairs.

When, in 1942, George Davidson became executive director of the Canadian Welfare Council, he was drawn more closely into the orbit of the CBC. As an association with a Canada-wide mandate, the Council rejoiced in having a broadcast medium for promoting social welfare nationally. This was especially the case when social security was receiving a high profile in the federal government's post-war planning – planning that involved the social insurance and universal programs that George Davidson was publicly endorsing.

With his appointment as Deputy Minister of National Welfare, Davidson's linkages with the CBC were further strengthened: he was now a member of the public structure of which CBC was part. And he soon learned that his Minister, Brooke Claxton, was a strong supporter of public radio. Claxton had, indeed, been one of the members of the small executive group within the Canadian Radio League and served as its solicitor. He was thus part of the early lobbying group that promoted the enactment of the 1932 legislation and gave substance to the dream of national public radio. Reflecting on the success of the early lobbying blitz by the CRL, Claxton described it as "one of the most remarkable accomplishments ever to take place in our country. They had to cure ignorance, overcome apathy, arouse support and master interested, organized and unfair opposition."[135]

The opposition to the endeavours of the CRBC was, indeed, organized and strong. In addition to the hostility of separate radio stations, both the Canadian National Railway and the Canadian Pacific Railway companies opposed CRBC's entrance to a field which they were seeking to dominate. The case for privately controlled broadcasting was also vigorously promoted by an industry-sponsored periodical, *The Canadian Broadcaster.* In addition to these external attacks, internal weaknesses in the structure and functioning of the Commission resulted in its replacement less than four years after its creation.

New legislation, reflecting Mackenzie King's strong support of the principles of the Aird Report, authorized the creation of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in 1936. The legislation seemed to augur well for the new endeavour. The CBC, during the 30 years before Dr. Davidson's appointment, had monumental accomplishments to its credit.

Foremost among them was the success in carrying out the formidable task of extending radio, and later television, coverage to Canadians in all provinces and the northern territories. CBC also managed to work in reasonable harmony with private broadcasting and the business community, bringing many private stations into portions of its national broadcasts and, in respect to television, having commercial sponsorship for a number of the most popular programs.

It had, moreover, successfully engaged in the international battles for the control of broadcasting space in the airwaves of the globe, and won for Canada the channels it needed domestically and for its international service – a service provided for its armed forces abroad and, in no less than 11 languages, to listeners in all major parts of the world. It established English and French networks, as well as programs in the languages of Canada's Aboriginal communities and some of the country's increasingly diverse populations whose first language was neither French nor English.

Of comparable importance to coverage (making radio and television accessible to all Canadians) is programming. From its earliest days to Dr. Davidson's term as president, programming was what sustained the high approval rating of the corporation. The program content varied to meet changing circumstances but, over the years, it provided a consistently high quality in its news coverage, its public affairs programs and its handling of special events in Canada and abroad. More controversial was its record on striking a balance between freedom of expression and airing of material offensive to some listeners and viewers. Of comparable importance, and perhaps more threatening to CBC's very existence, was its accountability on fairness and objectivity in its coverage of politics.

A persistent criticism of the Corporation was that it was subservient to the government in power and the political party that had put the government in office. Parliamentary debates over the years and other documentary evidence provide some support for such charges. During wartime, the Government's influence on program content "in the national interest" could be seen from the Cabinet room to include the interest of the party in power. Brooke Claxton, for example, used his influence to limit CBC's inclusion of radio time for the CCF when it was posing a political threat to the Liberal Party during the 1940s.

It was also during that period that increasing numbers of the Conservative Party became critical of the CBC, charging that it was dominated by the Liberal government and was discriminating against Conservatives. Among the most outspoken critics was John Diefenbaker, who, during his years as prime minister (1957–1963), was able to take retributive actions that included measures to diminish the scope of the CBC and to extend the scope of the private broadcasting sector. The principal step to that end was the creation of a new body that would remove the power the CBC had enjoyed to set policy for all broadcasting in Canada. The new organization, established in 1958, was the Board of Broadcast Governors (BBG), to whose regulatory functions and powers the CBC as well as the private broadcasters were subject.

The same year marked the end of the 10-year tenure of the CBC's first full-time chairman and president. This was Davidson Dunton, a multi-talented individual who provided skilled leadership in defending the independence of the Corporation and introducing its new medium, television. This he had developed into a nationwide network before resigning to pursue career posts that included the presidency of Carleton University and the co-chairmanship of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism.

With the strong backing of Prime Minister Diefenbaker, the Board of Broadcast Governors opened the door to private TV stations and, by 1961, to the creation of a private TV network, CTV. This ended the single system of broadcasting recommended by the Aird Commission in 1929 and by the Massey Commission in 1957. The Massey Commission on *National Development in the Arts, Letters and Science* had embraced broadcasting and strongly endorsed the work of the CBC, describing it as the greatest single agency for national unity, understanding and enlightenment. Graham Spry, however, believed that the increasing prominence of commerce in public as well as private broadcasting was shattering the dream he and Alan Plaunt had shared 30 years before.

The tenure of the second president of the CBC, Alphonse Ouimet, extending from 1958 to 1968, witnessed the continued growth of the Corporation, including the arrival of colour TV programming and the coverage of Expo 67. The conspicuous failure of its management, including the failure to arrest the turmoil surrounding the " 'Seven Days' debacle" and a strike of the program producers in the French network, placed the CBC in a gravely weakened state as George Davidson took on its presidency.

The shadow of the " 'Seven Days' debacle" still hovered over the CBC into the late 1960s. Lester Pearson pointedly referred to it in memoirs: "We actually had a political crisis over a weekly television show called 'This Hour Has Seven Days,' and this was settled only by the most dexterous diplomacy."[136] The show, created by innovative and iconoclastic CBC producers (Patrick Watson and Douglas Leiterman), went on the air in October 1964 with weekly skits satirizing Canadian leaders and institutions. With Patrick Watson and Laurier LaPierre as daring and boldly imaginative co-hosts, it evoked strong positive and negative responses while attracting the largest viewing audiences in the Corporation's history. The inept efforts by senior management to terminate the program produced deep divisions within the CBC, Parliament, opposing segments of the population, and the office of the Prime Minister. Mr. Ouimet lacked the skills to deal with what had indeed become a debacle that spilled, in some degree, into the Davidson years.

George Davidson's appointment to the presidency of the CBC in 1968, although on the eve of what would prove to be a critical point in Canadian history, should not obscure the remarkable and accelerating cultural development of Canada in the preceding 20 years. Two of its manifold evidences were the TV program "This Hour Has Seven Days," exposing and maturing the Canadian psyche; and

Expo 67, a dazzling revelation of what the nation had accomplished and become in its brief hundred years of national life.

Although Judy LaMarsh had deplored George Davidson's appointment, the two individuals generally enjoyed cordial relations. George Davidson, indeed, had good reason to be appreciative of the major role Judy LaMarsh played as the Secretary of State in developing and carrying through Parliament the legislation that would be of the utmost importance to him in his presidential role. It was the *Broadcasting Act*, 1967–68, a comprehensive measure running to 25 pages that defined the roles of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), which was replacing the Board of Broadcast Governors.

The Act spelled out a number of principles in programming that would be of utmost importance in George Davidson's presidential role. It ordained that programming should

- serve both English and French populations
- be varied and comprehensive
- provide reasonable, balanced opportunity for the expression of differing views on matters of public concern
- be of a high standard and use predominantly Canadian creative resources
- provide a balanced service of information, enlightenment and entertainment for people of different ages, interests and tastes
- contribute to the flow and exchange of cultural information between geographic regions
- contribute to the development of national unity, and
- provide for a continuing expression of Canadian identity.

The Act had been given a high priority both by the Liberal Government and by Parliament. Debate on it in the House of

Commons stretched through the closing weeks of 1967 and into 1968, until its adoption on February 1. Toward the end of the debate, it was known that Dr. Davidson would be appointed as president when the Act became law. This caused a number of the Opposition speakers to urge Davidson as well as the Government to deal with their many complaints. Most of these were long-standing attacks on the content and presentation of radio and television programs, variously characterized by the complainants as politically biased, socialistic, anti-American, obscene and separatist. Other complaints were about lack of broadcast coverage in some parts of the country.

Having newly enacted legislation spelling out Parliament's objectives and requirements for Canadian broadcasting was a positive factor for the President, who would make frequent recourse to its key provisions in the turbulent period of his presidential term. What was needed by way of supplementation was broad and sustained support from the government. An initial assessment on this score was to be found in the Corporation's annual report for 1967–68. It appeared over the signature of both J.A. Ouimet, whose tenure had been extended from April 1967 to his retirement in mid-December, and of G.F. Davidson, whose responsibilities extended from his appointment to the end of the fiscal year.

The 1967 calendar year had been Canada's Centennial. "What a year to be a Canadian!" were the report's opening words. The Centennial celebration had placed unprecedented demands on the Corporation. The multitude of notable events in which Canadians participated as never before were covered capably by radio and television. They included visits of a large number of distinguished persons from abroad, mostly brimming with praise of Canada's century of achievement. Television, however, also covered the inauspicious visit of General Charles de Gaulle, President of France. He was greeted with unbounded enthusiasm in his journey through Quebec on route to the conference centre in Montreal. He was especially courted by leaders of the movement to have the Province of Quebec separate from Canada and become a separate sovereign state. The President apparently relished the opportunity to encourage the separatist movement. His opportunity to promote this end came as he delivered a balcony address to a large Centennial audience, concluding with the inflammatory phrase, "*Vive le Québec Libre.*" The television broadcast of the de Gaulle speech, though only one of the hundreds of events caught by the Corporation's cameras, was of notable significance.

Accounts abound of how political leaders and citizens in general reacted to the speech. The federal Cabinet authorized Prime Minister Pearson to inform the President that it was totally unacceptable to the Canadian people. Unrepentant, President de Gaulle returned to France the following day. At a cocktail party that included Pierre Elliott Trudeau, then a minister in the Pearson Government, George Davidson told what his response would be: "I'd go to Paris, hire a car with the top down and ride down the main street shouting, '*Vive le St. Pierre et Miquelon libre*!' "[137] Although George Davidson's presidency of the CBC was some months away, the shadow cast by the incident, as well as its impact on separatist discontent in Quebec, would emerge as the CBC had to deal with separatist issues in the years of Davidson's presidency.

The separatist sentiment found formal expression in October 1968 with the formation of the Parti Québécois led by René Lévesque, a strong and charismatic figure destined, eight years later, to become the provincial premier. The platform of the Parti Québécois called for Quebec to become a sovereign state with some limited ties to Canada. More radical groups emerged who were prepared to employ terrorist measures to achieve the separatist goal. From the autumn of 1968 and continuing over the next two years, their principal tactic of setting off bombs in mailboxes resulted in loss of life, severe damage to property, and social, economic and political destabilization. In Montreal, an acceleration of lawlessness included student violence and arson at a major university and widespread rioting, looting and vandalism linked to a strike by the city's police and firemen. In October 1969, federal troops were called on to restore order at the request of the Quebec premier. A year later, tension reached a peak, highlighted by the kidnapping of the British Trade Commissioner and the kidnapping and murder of a minister of the provincial government. The provincial Premier, fearing widespread rebellion, again asked for the intervention of the Canadian armed forces. The Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau, declaring a state of "apprehended insurrection," proclaimed the *War Measures Act*. This gave the national government wide powers to suspend normal liberties, provide security forces for vulnerable persons and property, and outlaw terrorist organizations, notably the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ).

The powers thus available to the Canadian government under the legislation could have been used to impose strict control over the media. Though led to believe, through reports by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), that the FLQ was capable of widespread rebellion, the government decided against employing coercive power over the media. Dr. Davidson, however, received an urgent call from the Secretary of State, Gérard Pelletier, urging that the CBC avoid programming that would inflame the situation. Accordingly, advice was sent out to network journalists to avoid "speculative stories and inflammatory commentary."[138] In responding to telephone calls charging that this was bordering on censorship, Dr. Davidson stressed the importance of simply carrying on with the normal practices of sound journalism. But then, inadvertently, he used the phrase, "I think it is time to cool it."[139] Although those words appear innocent in retrospect, they were seen by some as akin to suppression and he was attacked for using them.

In addition to the criticism Dr. Davidson faced on that matter, he risked further denunciation from some members of the federal Cabinet for deciding, largely on his own, to accede to one of the FLQ's demands that needed to be met before the terrorist cell would release its hostage. What was demanded and agreed to by Davidson was to have the FLQ manifesto broadcast on radio and television. Though initially denounced, this concession assisted in the negotiated arrangements that included the safe passage of the kidnappers to Cuba in exchange for the release of the British Trade Commissioner. The

FLQ flare-up, though of undeniable gravity, was short-lived, and most of the more than 400 persons taken into custody under the *War Measures Act* were released without the laying or hearing of charges.

A longer-term issue faced by Dr. Davidson was how to cope with the accelerating strength of Quebec separatism, or, more specifically, with how to manage its presentation on radio and television. The CBC was under constant and accelerating attack for what many stated was the favourable image of separatism it presented. The Corporation, especially the French network, was accused of harbouring separatists and giving them free reign for their views in news broadcasts and other public affairs programs.

The most influential critics were members of Parliament, both the Créditistes (members of the Social Credit Party) and the Liberals. It was the Liberal members who were most vocal and who directed their attack not only at the CBC but at the Prime Minister for failing to discipline it. Mr. Trudeau was sufficiently affected by the strident outcry that he promised to act – a promise seen by some of his senior colleagues as a threat to the Corporation and a denial of major principles of the *Broadcasting Act.*

That was the firm position of Dr. Davidson, who had constantly to state and restate the Corporation's position: separatism was not illegal; it was the avowed program of a democratically constituted political party; among the members of the large technical and professional staff of the French network there were Liberals, Conservatives and Créditistes as well as separatists; none of them were permitted to espouse their cause; the affairs of all the parties that were newsworthy were broadcast – and, as provided by the *Broadcasting Act*, time was set aside for the political parties to broadcast their platforms. The amount of time available was determined by the number of seats the parties had in the legislature or, in relation to national issues, in the House of Commons.

When on one occasion a reporter telephoned Dr. Davidson for his reaction to a critical statement by the Prime Minister, Davidson's response was, "Mr. Trudeau is a taxpayer and he has the same right to express his opinion about the CBC as any other taxpayer. And we will pay the same amount of attention to his comments as to any comment we get." As reported by Knowlton Nash,[140] the Prime Minister telephoned Davidson congratulating him on the principled position he had taken.

This was a dramatic illustration of George Davidson's ability to establish relationships that stood the severest of tests. Pierre Trudeau had been so taken with Davidson's proposed response to General de Gaulle's inflammatory salvo that on spotting Davidson on the sidewalk while passing in an open convertible, "Trudeau rose from the seat, stretched out his arms and shouted at a laughing Davidson and an astonished passerby, "*Vive le Martinique libre!*"[141]

As Dr. Davidson entered on his presidential assignment, he had among his goals achieving organizational efficiency; increasing the participation of Canadians in CBC programming; renewing radio relevancy; and advancing television programming to meet the needs and tastes of the 1970s.

Davidson's foremost approach to the organizational imbroglio was to transfer responsibility for programming closer to its points of delivery; to enable operational decisions to be made as close as possible to the action. Accordingly, senior program management was moved out of its Ottawa headquarters to Toronto for English broadcasting and to Montreal for French broadcasting.

The senior officials carrying these responsibilities welcomed freedom from the previous autocratic management style, which Davidson portrayed as "the phalanx of vice-presidents who had formed a protective circle around the president's office."[142] With this structural change, the fires of discontent in Toronto and Montreal began to cool, and a more flexible and responsive program atmosphere ensued.

The objective of increasing Canadian content in broadcasting was longstanding. With the high and escalating cost of television programming, it was difficult for the CBC and other Canadian broadcasters to compete with lavishly funded American programs that had established viewer support on both sides of the international border. The challenge was to discover and develop Canadian talent and to merge artistic and technical skills to develop programs of as high a standard as those available from Britain and France as well as the United States.

The movement for greater Canadian content in broadcasting was primarily, and appropriately, centred in the CRTC. It was pursued vigorously by its president, Pierre Juneau, who faced the strong and sustained opposition of the private stations and other influential interests. He initially sought to prescribe the percentage of programming in prime-time TV and the percentage of all music on radio that must employ Canadian talent if broadcast licences were to be retained. Dr. Davidson set out to exceed the requirements and to increase, each year, the use of Canadian composers and performers. He succeeded, raising Canadian content in prime-time TV from 52 per cent to 68 per cent, well above the level required by the CRTC.

The golden age of CBC radio, which had extended from the late 1930s to the early 1960s, ended as Canadians became enamoured with television for news, sports, comedy and coverage of public events. Such events captivated audiences during Expo 67, the other attractions of the Centennial year, and the political upheavals that extended through the October Crisis of 1970. If radio were to recapture public attention and support, it had to make technical improvements and this was, in part, made possible by the nationwide extension of frequency modulation (FM).

Even more important was the need for greatly improved programming. Dr. Davidson appointed his vice-president, Laurent Picard, to chair a six-month study of radio programming called "The Radio Project." The study team crossed the country, interviewing both CBC staff and community groups about a strengthened future for radio on the English- and French-language services.

The study resulted in a number of recommendations to the CBC Board of Directors. They included a radical restructuring of schedules, assigning prime-time periods of the day (early morning, noon-hour and late afternoon) to the regions; reserving the remainder of the schedule for national programming; developing two distinct services called Radio 1 (for general and more popular programming) and Radio 2 (for classical music and programming of a more cultural nature in stereo); and phasing out commercials from all CBC Radio programming.

The Board and senior management accepted most of the recommendations. This set the pattern of CBC Radio programming that still exists today. CBC Radio gradually emerged from the shadow of television, winning for itself growing and loyal audiences.

Good-quality programming was increasingly in evidence both at the community and national levels. An approach first developed in Winnipeg and later adopted in many centres was a 6:30-to-8:30 a.m. program that included news, weather, sports, traffic reports and analysis of local issues. An immensely popular national show, "This Country in the Morning," had as its host Peter Gzowski, a highly talented person with a gift for relating, rather like a family member, to a wide sector of the listening audience. It was primarily an interview program that brought to the microphone a remarkable array of people whose lives and causes revealed the richness and variety of Canadian society. A similar description applied to the early-evening program "As It Happens," which had an equally gifted host, Barbara Frum. Her interviewing style reflected a brilliant intellect and a capacity to elicit from those she interviewed an in-depth accounting of themselves and their experiences. A lighter addition to the new broadcasting agenda was the comedy show "The Royal Canadian Air Farce." It matched or exceeded, without fatal censure, the satirical bounds of the ill-fated

"This Hour Has Seven Days." Radio, clearly, had once again claimed the attention and enriched the lives of Canadians.

CBC television in the Davidson years, although continuing to carry, in prime time, popular programs imported from the United States, France and Britain, became increasingly more able to produce programs attuned to the changing interests of the Canadian viewer. The interest aroused during Canada's Centennial in how Canada had achieved the marvels of development displayed at Expo prepared the way for a series of impressive and popular historical documentaries. They included biographies of the heroes of Canadian development, political, cultural and economic. The most spectacular, "The National Dream," transformed Pierre Berton's books on the Canadian Pacific Railway and the opening of the Canadian west into what Knowlton Nash described as "the most evocative, effective, and popular visual history lesson the country ever had."[143] TV programming for children was enlivened by new programs: Bob Homme as the Friendly Giant with Jerome the giraffe and Rusty the rooster; Ernie Coombs as Mr. Dressup with his pals Casey and Finnegan; Chez Hélène's French storytelling.

The political and social climate of Canada was less turbulent in the last two years of George Davidson's presidency of the Corporation. The Trudeau government, elected in 1968, remained in power until the autumn of 1972, and although the Prime Minister's popularity had faded and there was continuing unrest in Quebec and rising opposition in parts of western Canada, criticism of the federal government and its institutions was less strident. The CBC was less targeted by its detractors than in the first years of the Davidson tenure. And improved programming on both radio and television raised its rating throughout Canada. Indeed, a broadcasting authority in the United States stated that CBC's broadcasting service was the best in the world.[144]

The Corporation was not without internal problems. From its earliest days, prone to strikes by components of its staff, the CBC faced a technicians' strike in the late winter of 1972 that shut down coverage of the finals in hockey, the sport most revered by Canadians. They had to read about the Stanley Cup playoff games in the newspapers. During the strike, Dr. Davidson caused distress to the labour relations managers of the Corporation by chatting amiably with the picketers who surrounded CBC buildings and even autographing their picket signs. This behaviour testified more to Davidson's social welfare background than to his repute as the stern Secretary of the Treasury Board.

By 1972 George Davidson could review with some satisfaction his time in broadcasting. Peter Meggs, a CBC vice-president in the 1970s, marvelled at

> how much George Davidson achieved in the four short years of his tenure at CBC, including the three major accomplishments: taking on the terrible management mess that was highlighted by the Seven Days fiasco, giving firm leadership during the October crisis, and the total restructuring of CBC Radio schedules.[145]

He had accomplished what the prime minister who had appointed him wanted: a public broadcasting system that was serving Canada well.

George Davidson was even saying to friends that he was enjoying the job. In the many addresses he gave to community groups across Canada, he exuded enthusiasm for the CBC and for the vital role it was playing in Canadian life. Because broadcasting was concerned largely with cultural policy, Davidson was less involved in the affairs of state than he had been in his previous roles. But he held a position with one of the highest profiles in the country, and he recognized that his classical background and social work values provided valued texture to day-to-day endeavours touching on basic elements of Canadian culture and well-being.

His CBC years gave George Davidson a higher profile in Canadian society than had the earlier parts of his working career. He had received his appointment primarily because of his strong performance in public policy. Prime Minister Pearson had also referred, however, to Davidson's "broad understanding of human and social problems." This suggests that cultural policy as expressed in Davidson's presidency should be seen as part of social policy – that part having to do with human needs that transcend the common level and call upon and serve the human mind and spirit that seek social well-being at its highest level.

Davidson could have continued as a strong president for the rest of his seven-year term. He decided instead to accept the offer to become Undersecretary to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in charge of budget, finance and administration. A major factor influencing that decision was his belief that, having done his job at CBC to the satisfaction of the Government, he could accept the new position in good conscience. Also supporting the decision was the prospect of returning to policy and administrative challenges akin to those he experienced as a senior mandarin at the centre of government in Canada. It was a move to another level of government – one serving the whole human race and the protection of its global environment.

■ Chapter 12

The International Dimension: The United Nations Years

Early International Experience

George Davidson's qualifications for a highly placed post in the United Nations were not limited to his record as a foremost policy and management executive in the public service of Canada. They also included international involvement in the voluntary sector and in United Nations agencies while he was deputy minister of National Welfare.

There is merit, as well, in including in his credentials the sum of his life experiences. These were at no time circumscribed by the borders of his homeland. Bass River, Nova Scotia, where he spent his early boyhood, was on the Bay of Fundy. Twice daily its massive tides, among the highest on the globe, proclaimed the intrusive force of the Atlantic – the ocean that linked five continents and most of the dominant countries of the world. Vessels built by Davidson kinsmen sailed in every ocean, and seamen like the Davidsons' near neighbour, Captain Edson Everett Thompson, regaled Allen and George with tales of faraway lands and gave them also a sense of their nearness to the Atlantic ports of Boston and New York.

George's life in New Westminster, again, was far from insular. The city boasted of having the finest freshwater harbour on the Pacific – one that could accommodate countless vessels of whatever draft from all the seven seas. And New Westminster's shipbuilding record, especially during World War I, gave its citizens, themselves drawn from many lands, a strong sense of being part of a world not defined by national boundaries. Geography and history courses, during George's school years, depicted the wider world, though often as a reflection of the glories of the British Empire. Its far-flung possessions displayed in red on maps and globes confirmed that the sun never set on Britain's imperial domain.

George's mind was opened to different views of the world during his undergraduate years at the University of British Columbia. Courses in ancient and modern history and the study of both contemporary and classical languages added immeasurable depth to his perceptions of the world in which he would live and develop a career.

While at Harvard, George was spectator to a strange debate about whether the United States, the richest and potentially the most powerful nation in the world, should retreat into the isolation it claimed to have had before its involvement in World War I. It must, in the view of the isolationists, avoid, at all costs, entanglement with existing and potential "foreign wars." While on his post-doctoral travel in Europe, George had a close view of the factors and forces that were marching nonstop to World War II.

Out of the vast destructiveness of the War there emerged, miraculously, the United Nations, the brightest hope for the future of humankind. George Davidson was strongly drawn to it and to the associations that helped create and support it. One of these, the one closest to George's work in the field of social development, was the International Conference on Social Work – later the International Council on Social Welfare. The International Conference on Social Work was to be of such importance to George Davidson's blossoming career that its nature and development, together with its linkage with the Canadian Conference on Social Work, require elaboration.

The birth of the International Conference is often said to date from the "social work fortnight" of meetings in Paris in July 1928. This event, inspired and organized by world-renowned Belgian physician René Sand, assembled many human service organizations, both of recent origin and of long standing, such as the International Red Cross and the National Conference of Charities and Corrections of the United States. Of enduring importance, the Conference brought together social workers from many countries and agencies and "conferred on the social work profession a dignity and an authority which had not been recognized up till then."[146]

Meetings of what had thus become the International Conference of Social Work were held in Frankfurt in 1932 and in London in 1936 but were discontinued during the Second World War. However, their influence on social work was wide-ranging and contributed to the development of the Canadian Conference on Social Work.

The Canadian Conferences employed the same general format as the international organization: assembling biennially in carefully planned meetings that explored the full range of social and economic affairs affecting human welfare. The conferences elicited great interest and support from the social work community across Canada. Held sequentially in the major cities from coast to coast, they focused on national issues while recognizing the profound effects, positive and negative, of international factors.

The Sixth Canadian Conference on Social Work was held in Vancouver in 1938 and was timed to coincide with the National Conference of Social Work of the United States that was held in Seattle. As noted in Chapter 6, George Davidson was actively involved in both those historic events. The experiences led to a long and productive linkage with the Canadian Conference: Davidson being a participant in most conferences through the 1940s and 50s, giving a major address on trends in social security at the 13th biennial meeting in Quebec City in 1952, and becoming a key figure in the historic events in Toronto in 1954.

In that year Toronto had the unique and demanding privilege of hosting the two conferences: The Canadian Conference on Social Work, June 24 to June 26, and the International Conference of Social Work, June 27 to July 3. George Davidson's address at the conclusion of the Canadian Conference offers insights about the future of the Canadian Conference and its relationship to the international organization:

> Now, for a final word about the rather special place of this Toronto meeting in the life history of the Canadian Conference. We have met here in a year which will long be remembered as the year in which Canada and Canadians welcomed to our soil the International Conference of Social Work. This great honour made it necessary to adapt our planning and our program to this important international event.
>
> We have much to be proud of in Canada. Our social work patterns and programs are a respectable, a distinguished part of that proud heritage. We will not be truly representative of our country and our people if we fail to carry that awareness, pridefully, yet humbly, into the International Conference sessions. We have, however, a great deal of unfinished business in Canadian social work.
>
> As we mingle with our friends and neighbours from other lands, let us remember the high purpose for which we are gathered here: the betterment of the fortunes and future of our own Canadian people, and the betterment of the lot of our brothers and sisters everywhere throughout the world today. We shall try to accomplish this purpose by pooling the knowledge, inspiration, and dedication which social work and social workers in every land bring to their high calling. This is our task and this will be our duty and dedication for the years to come.[147]

As predicted by Dr. Davidson, the Seventh International Conference of Social Work was a memorable success. It attracted to its opening event nearly 3,000 persons, of whom over 1,500 were delegates from 47 countries and seven international organizations. The opening address of the conference was given by Lester Pearson, then Minister of External Affairs and Canadian representative to the United Nations, where he had served as president of the General Assembly in 1952. A substantial portion of his masterful address on "The World We Live In" dealt with the contributions of the United Nations and its specialized agencies to the objectives of the Conference expressed in its theme: "Self Help in Social Welfare."

Dr. Davidson, recently appointed as one of the International organization's vice-presidents, had been the chairman of the Conference's Programme Committee. In his summary remarks at the conclusion of the conference, he commented perceptively on its record in dealing with the conference theme.

> I believe we have been practicing what we have been preaching . . . We have been trying to help ourselves. We have been working together in search of the common answers to our common problems. We have been pooling our resources of the intellect and of the spirit in trying to find new methods, new techniques, new inspirations with which to carry back the memories of this conference, applying what we have gained, what we have learnt, to our daily tasks in whatever part of the world we call our home.[148]

At the close of the next biennial conference, held in Munich in 1956, Dr. Davidson was elected president of the conference for a term extending to 1960. He thus became the third president of the organization. His predecessors were the founding president and great internationalist, Dr. René Sand of Belgium, and George Haynes, president for many years of the International Conference of Social Work for the United Kingdom.

Dr. Davidson employed his command of modern languages through expressing his opening remarks in each of the conferences' official languages, German, French and English. Later he spoke of finding in the conference proceeding what he described

> as an attitude of divine discontent – not a grumbling dissatisfaction with all that is still wrong in this world of ours, but a vigorous, healthy dissatisfaction – a dissatisfaction that carries along with it a determination that things will be made better for our people in all parts of the world . . . within the lives of those of us who make up the family of the International Conference of Social Work there are committees that bring together the east and west and the north and the south and people from all races and all lands in a common

> devotion to the common purposes of improving the social order in which we live.[149]

Dr. Davidson carried with distinction his role as president of the Ninth and Tenth conferences: "Mobilizing Resources for Social Needs" in Tokyo in 1958 and "Social Work in a Changing World: Its Functions and Responsibilities" in Rome in 1961. Although not explicitly referred to, these two conferences, together with the Eighth conference in Munich, brought people from countries that had constituted the Axis powers in World War II into harmonious collaboration with people of the Allied powers. In his addresses and in his influence on the conference programs, Dr. Davidson sought to focus on what had been achieved since the War as exemplified in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the establishment of the United Nations. The participants in the conferences were aware that their president was not only a foremost leader in non-governmental endeavours exemplified in the conferences and a senior official in his homeland, but also as a person who was serving the United Nations in committees of its Economic and Social Council.

That within a few years he would be called upon to fill a position in the United Nations organization second in importance only to that of the Secretary-General would not have surprised the thousands of participants in the social work conferences who had experienced the quality of his leadership in a wide range of national and international endeavours.

Dr. Davidson's connection with components of the United Nations began within a year of the UN's official beginning in October 1945. He was a member of the Canadian delegation to the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) on numerous occasions between 1946 and 1952. From 1947 to 1950 he was Canadian Representative to the UN Social Commission; in 1953 he was chairman of the Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee of the UN General Assembly, and in 1958 he became president of the ECOSOC.

George Davidson's appointment to these increasingly important roles are indicative of his possession of the qualities that were valued in the deliberations of the world body. In addition to his highly relevant academic background, Davidson's experience in a wide range of public and voluntary undertakings at the community, provincial and national levels in Canada gave him an in-depth understanding of the issues brought to the United Nations by the member nations. He had, in addition, personal qualities in human relationships, superb abilities of chairmanship, and a relaxed urbanity that fitted him well both as a member and as a leader in the councils of the global organization.

Dr. Davidson's participation in the meetings of the Canadian Conferences on Social Work and the International Conferences of Social Work was enriched by his work with the United Nations, and the reverse was also the case. The reputation he achieved for outstanding service to the UN as a person serving it while employed in senior posts in his home country was not lost sight of when the United Nations, in the early 1970s, needed a person with outstanding qualities to fill the demanding post of Undersecretary-General for Administration and Management.

UN: Undersecretary-General (1972–1979)

Making appointments to the position of Undersecretary-General is the prerogative of the Secretary-General. Although appointment is made primarily on the basis of the personal qualifications of the person selected, attention must be paid to the person's national identity. The appointment of George Davidson thus had to take account not only of his manifold qualifications but also of his nationality as a Canadian.

The association of Canadians with the United Nations from its origin to the time of Davidson's appointment was both extensive and commendable. Canadians, in contrast to the official ambiguity of their government to the League of Nations, had, by the end of World War II, become strongly supportive of a world body capable of preserving peace and of strengthening the economic and social well-being of all humanity.

In April 1943 the government sent a strong delegation to the conference that was forging the UN Charter. The composition of the delegation is noteworthy: the Prime Minister, Mackenzie King; the Leader of the Opposition, Gordon Graydon; the leader of the CCF Party, M.J. Coldwell; Louis St. Laurent; Brooke Claxton and Paul Martin from the federal Cabinet; and senior officers from the Department of External Affairs, including Norman Robertson, Hume Wrong and Dana Wilgress.

The Canadian delegation, though accepting the necessary dominance of the major powers in the proposed Security Council, worked to strengthen the influence of all nations in the General Assembly and gained recognition for its insistence on the importance that the UN must assign to social and economic affairs. Accordingly, it worked for the inclusion in the charter of the Economic and Social Council a clear indication that it was designed to promote "respect for, and the observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all."[150]

Canadians continued to play important roles in the United Nation's many components. Canada sent strong delegations to the General Assembly, winning recognition for constructive leadership and providing its seventh president: Lester Pearson. Pearson represented Canada with great distinction and was widely respected throughout the UN. He was, indeed, strongly proposed for the position of Secretary-General in 1946 and again in 1953, but was denied the position by the veto of the USSR. His UN achievement of greatest note was in 1956 when Israel and Egypt were at war. France and Britain intervened, and sought, through military action, to regain control of the Suez Canal, thereby precipitating a crisis of alarming magnitude. It was the statesmanlike initiative of Pearson in the General Assembly that defused the issue through gaining support for the first employment of a United Nations Emergency Force, a move destined to have both short-term and long-term peacekeeping value.

Paul Martin was another Canadian who contributed strongly to the work of the United Nations, most notably in 1955 when he successfully forged a resolution for the admission of new members, an issue that had been in deadlock for several years.

Canadians also played constructive roles in the Security Council during the four two-year periods when Canada won election to one of its 10 non-permanent seats. Its "ambassadors" to the Council, respectively, General Andrew McNaughton (1947–48), Charles Ritchie (1957–58), George Ignatieff (1967–68), and William Barton (1977–78), participated with distinction in the development of solutions to peace-threatening issues and in advancing economic and social measures.

Canadians made their mark, as well, in the other major part of the United Nations family, its specialized agencies.[151] Examples are noteworthy: the World Health Organization had, as its first Director General, Brock Chisholm; the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund had Adelaide Sinclair as an outstanding leader; Maurice Strong was a key figure on Human Settlement Issues; Hugh Keenleyside gave strong direction as Director General of the Technical Assistance Administration; Frank Shefrin, on frequent secondment from the Canadian government, was highly influential in the Food and Agriculture Organization; John Humphrey was renowned as a principal author of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In addition, the United Nations attracted many Canadians who viewed working for the UN in both idealistic and practical terms. Numerous professionals who had enjoyed successful careers at home made notable contributions to the UN at its headquarters, its regional offices and its specialized agencies. Examples could be cited from George Davidson's first federal department, National Health and Welfare: Robert Curran to the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, and Verna Huffman as a World Health Organization nursing consultant. Similarly, from the Canadian Welfare Council, where Davidson had served earlier came Phyllis Burns, a social work leader, and George Hougham, an experienced researcher on social policy.

Perhaps even more important in the consideration of George Davidson's credentials for the position of Undersecretary-General were the numerous roles he carried in the United Nations while still in the employ of the Government of Canada. Though touched on earlier, they merit some elaboration in reviewing the case for the senior appointment that took him from the national to the international sphere.

From 1946 to 1952 he served on a number of occasions as a member of the Canadian delegations to sessions of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). It was at the ECOSOC session in 1946 that the decision was made to create the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF). Initially, as an "Emergency Fund," UNICEF was to be a relatively short-lived organization. George Davidson, on behalf of Canada, but at some personal sacrifice, arranged the secondment of Adelaide Sinclair from the Department of National Health and Welfare to the new agency. Adelaide Sinclair, whose earlier career had included teaching economics and political science at the University of Toronto, as well as being director during World War II of the Women's Royal Canadian Naval Service, had been George Davidson's executive assistant, carrying a range of important responsibilities. She was destined, until her retirement in 1967, to be a key figure in UNICEF, which had become a permanent part of the UN, its "emergency" status long forgotten.

Davidson's contributions to ECOSOC and to the UN in general were extensive. In 1960 and 1961 he chaired a committee that revamped the whole pension system of the UN and, in the words of Clyde Sanger, author of *Canadians and the United Nations*, "had a close view of the UN system throughout its first 15 years."[152] Thus, George Davidson had impeccable credentials as a person with knowledge of and commitment to the organization to which he was being appointed.

The Secretary-General, whose responsibility it was to make the appointment to the senior positions in the Secretariat, was Kurt Waldheim. Among the many roles Kurt Waldheim had played before being appointed to the United Nations as Secretary-General in December 1971 were senior positions in Austria, his homeland, and a number of roles as part of the Austrian delegations to the United Nations. He also held diplomatic positions as minister and then ambassador to Canada between 1956 and 1960. He had come to know George Davidson socially in Ottawa. These personal connections may have been as significant in the selection process as Davidson's nationality and his managerial credentials. The Secretary-General was thus able to appoint to the senior role of Undersecretary a person whom he knew personally and about whom he had direct evidence that Davidson was admirably fitted for the demanding post he was being asked to fill.

When George Davidson took up his appointment as Undersecretary-General in the summer of 1972, the United Nations was in its 27th year. During its first year, 1945–46, it had a membership of 51 nations; by 1972 membership had grown to 132 and by 1979 had reached a total of 161. The UN's secretariat expanded from a staff of some 1,200 persons in 1945–46 to 12,000 in 1972 and to 14,000 in 1979. Its budget had risen from under $30 million (U.S.) in 1947 to $210 million in 1972, and to $500 million by 1979.

In one of his many public addresses, Davidson described the United Nations in a manner that gave further indication of its nature and magnitude.

> To begin with, the United Nations is not easy to define. We must distinguish between the United Nations Organization itself – the central organization concerned with issues of war and peace, political, economic and social, colonial and human rights questions – which sits in its impressive headquarters building on the banks of the East River in New York – and the United Nations system or family of agencies – the technical or specialized agencies such as

> ILO, WHO, UNICEF, FAO, UNESCO, IBRD and IMF. These organizations, headquartered in places such as Geneva, Paris, London, Rome, Vienna, Berne, Washington and Montreal, are each one sovereign and independent in their own right, with overlapping but separate memberships . . . . Each one, while autonomous, with its own staff, is bound to the central United Nations Organization through a so-called relationship agreement and all are joined together in what is known as the United Nations common system, which seeks to assure common salary standards, fringe benefits and allowances, conditions of work, personnel policies, and a single joint Pension fund for the entire system.[153]

In other public addresses that he gave over the years, Davidson emphasized that an understanding of the complexities of managing the financing and staffing of the United Nations required some knowledge of the birth of the organization and its unending struggle to survive and develop.

Circumstances associated with the founding of the UN had enduring consequences. The conviction that there must be a world body to prevent yet another world war was strongly held by the Allied powers as they approached victory over Germany, Italy and Japan in the mid-1940s. Proposals proliferated on its nature, objectives and governance, and hope mounted for a world body that would succeed where the predecessor organization, the League of Nations, had failed.

Serious planning for a new world body began at a conference held in Moscow in 1943 under the authority of the foreign ministers of the United States, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and China. During the next two years, the basis was laid for the inclusion of all the countries allied against fascism. Work began in San Francisco in the spring of 1945 to frame the Charter of the United Nations.

Even as the Charter was being developed, tensions arose among the major powers that threatened its very adoption. As the war in Europe ended, the Soviet Union's takeover of the whole of Eastern Europe raised fears about its global intentions. For its part, the U.S.S.R. was deeply concerned about the invention and deployment by the United States of the atomic bomb. The Cold War that these fears generated would cast a shadow over the functioning of the United Nations for nearly a half-century.

During that period, the proliferation of nuclear weapons threatened the universal destruction of humankind. In the same era, imperialist powers, willingly or by force, were divested of their colonies. The entities that struggled into birth soon claimed nationhood and demanded entrance to the United Nations. Together they made the UN a far more complex organization to administer than it had been when George Davidson first experienced it as a member of Canadian delegations in the 1940s and '50s.

In spite of these and other formidable obstacles, the birth of the United Nations, its survival year after year, its role in heading off a third world war, and the great accomplishments of its specialized agencies gives the United Nations unquestioned ranking as the most positive and redemptive attainment of the 20th century.

A detailed account of the UN's role in heading off a third world war and dealing with major issues threatening world peace in the period from its creation through the 1970s is beyond the scope of this study. However, mention is needed of some of the issues and events that tested the peacekeeping capacity of the UN: guerrilla warfare in Greece; the partition of Palestine; warlike tensions between the new states of India and Pakistan; the communist coup in Czechoslovakia; the struggle for the independence of Indonesia; the two-China issue; the Korean War; the Israeli–Egyptian War; the Suez Canal issue; the development of hostile cold war coalitions; the Cuban missile crisis of 1962; apartheid in South Africa; the Cyprus conflict between Turkey and Greece; white supremacy in Rhodesia; the Six-Day War in the Middle East; Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

This sampling of unending threats to world peace and, indeed, to the very survival of the human race that tested and challenged the UN from its beginning through George Davidson's years needs to be countered with a sampling of the positive measures to be credited to the United Nations family during the same period. Many are associated with the entities created by the Charter to promote human rights and fundamental freedoms through the elimination of barriers based on race, sex, language or religion; the work of the Economic and Social Council with its associated commissions; non-governmental organizations with consultative status; the United Nations Conferences – on the environment in 1972, commemorated annually in World Environment Day; on population in 1974, producing the World Population Plan of Action; on women in 1995, producing the Declaration on the Equality of Women; on human settlements in 1976, producing the Vancouver-based Centre for Human Settlements.

Of comparable significance in assessing the UN's positive accomplishments are the endeavours of the specialized agencies: the World Health Organization immeasurably improving global health with the dramatic elimination of smallpox and the near-elimination of many childhood diseases; the Food and Agriculture Organization's strides in promoting world food security; the International Labour Organization receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in 1969 for half a century of service on behalf of working people everywhere; the World Bank and International Monetary Fund funding development for productive purposes, greatly needed in developing countries.

It is against this brief sketch of the trials and triumphs of the UN family that George Davidson's role and responsibilities can best be presented. The Secretariat in which he would work for seven years consisted, in his words, of a "central core of 10,000 – 14,000 persons serving the United Nation's Organization in New York and in other important centres such as Geneva, Vienna, Beirut, Addis Ababa, Nairobi, Bangkok and Santiago."[154]

Even Davidson's extensive managerial experience could hardly have prepared him for what was involved in the necessarily complex structure of the UN. The Secretary-General could not follow the practice recommended in managerial textbooks of having only a small number of senior officials reporting directly to the top executive officer. By the nature of the organization, the Secretary-General had to be accessible to nearly 30 components of the organization. Davidson's was the position holding the most power, but his was not the only post with the Undersecretary-General ranking. In the mid-1970s there were 11 officials with that ranking. The next-most-senior ranking was that of Assistant Secretary-General, of which there were seven. Also reporting directly to the Secretary-General were four Executive Secretaries, as well as the Commissioner for Technical Cooperation. When account is taken of the Secretary-General's primary responsibilities to the Security Council and General Assembly and the almost daily emergence of critical issues demanding instant attention, it is clear that the Secretariat could not be brought into the neat structural patterns proposed in managerial theory. Although George Davidson's previous experience was remarkably broad, it had not included an organization as diverse and loosely structured as the UN's Secretariat.

Foremost among Davidson's responsibilities as financial and administrative head of the Secretariat were those of finance, receiving the funds paid to the UN by the member nations and allocating them to meet the voracious demands of the New York headquarters and the UN's widely dispersed branches and subsidiaries. Davidson commented on some aspects of financial management as follows:

> While the annual budget of the United Nations itself, now running between $500 and $600 million annually, is received in basically a single currency, the U.S. dollar – it is expended in 100 or more different currencies: 40% in U.S. dollars, 25% in Swiss francs; 5% in Austrian shillings, and the remainder in an infinite variety of currencies corresponding to the currencies of the duty stations and

> countries where our far flung personnel is located. This does not simplify – to put it mildly – the task of financial management of the Organization's resources; nor does it make any easier the task of ensuring equitable treatment (in terms of pay, allowances and other conditions of employment) of our staff who serve in these widely different locations. Not only are we involved in a wide variety of national currencies but in addition we have had to cope with the violent exchange fluctuations affecting our basic currency, the U.S. dollar, in the 8 years since the world broke away from the fixed exchange relationships which prevailed up until 1971. To give some idea of what this has meant, $1 million US would have purchased 4.2 million Swiss francs in 1971. To purchase the same quantity today [1979], would cost closer to $US 2.5 million.[155]

Davidson's responsibilities in respect to staffing were no less complex:

> Article 101 of the Charter states categorically that "the paramount consideration in the employment of the staff shall be the necessity of securing the highest standards of efficiency, competence and integrity." That certainly seems clear enough. However, the Article does not end there. It continues, in the typically ambivalent fashion of texts produced in committees and born in compromise, that "due regard shall be paid to the importance of recruiting the staff on as wide a geographical basis as possible." Thus the principles of equitable geographical distribution has been enshrined from the beginning as one of the cornerstones of personnel policy in the United Nations Secretariat.[156]

In enlarging on the implications of "equitable geographical representation," Davidson noted that in the first 10 years, the staff, which was based on the League of Nations model and included many of its former officials, "became heavily overloaded with British, and French, and Indians and Egyptians . . . and to a lesser extent with U.S. and Canadian nationals."

Then came 1954 – and the first major enlargement of the membership of the Organization – and shortly after, the avalanche of decolonization – spreading from Asia and the Middle East to the full tide of independence in Africa as British, French, Dutch, Belgian, Italian and eventually Portuguese colonial powers shed their colonial territories, and almost 100 new and, for the most part, very shaky states emerged to claim their place as independent members of the United Nations. All this took place in the short space of 20 to 25 years. From 1954 to 1979 the membership of the United Nations tripled; and what could be more natural than that these newly emerging member states – 100 in all – should begin to demand, as a perquisite of their membership in the United Nations, along with the assessment they were obliged to pay, a fair proportion of posts for their nationals in the UN Secretariat.[157]

It was not in Davidson's nature to draw attention to the progress made by the UN during his years as the senior Undersecretary-General. As noted earlier, it was in those years that the UN absorbed into its membership some 30 new countries. It was also the period when the UN initiated the holding of worldwide conferences on global issues: the environment in 1972, population in 1974, women in 1975, habitat in 1976. In spite of the many hazards to managing and securing finances, the UN budget was progressively increased to meet expanding responsibilities, nearly doubling in the Davidson period.

Other testimony to Davidson's accomplishments is offered by persons who were close to the United Nations during the 1970s. Davidson's influence extended beyond his defined duties in the Secretariat. His background service to the United Nations in its early years, combined with his other international endeavours, equipped him to comprehend, comment and advise upon the broad sphere and multiple mandates of the entire United Nations family. In an interview with Clyde Sanger, the noted authority on the United Nations and the Canadian role in it, Davidson referred, among other matters, to the early accomplishments of the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC). He expressed his disappointment (and that of others) on the circumstances that reduced the major coordinating responsibility that had been assigned to ECOSOC in the Charter.

George Davidson's influence in bringing order within the Secretariat itself is more difficult to assess. Persons in a position to comment on the Secretariat's internal working had valid reason to request anonymity on what they had to say on this sensitive subject. In summary they referred to the failure of many of the Undersecretaries-General and other senior officials with designated identifications to rise above their often self-imposed mandates. Few were of comparable calibre to Davidson. That he managed to bring a measure of coherence to the major thrusts of the Secretariat in advancing the purposes of the United Nations stands as a legacy of his tenure as Undersecretary-General.

Adviser: Fund for Population Activities (1980–1986)

The United Nations was able to retain George Davidson's services for another six years to work on a subject that had come to the fore early in the life of the United Nations: population. Population issues proved to be remarkably complex, and continued unceasingly to engage the attention of the UN during the 40 years from its founding through and beyond the termination, in 1986, of Davidson's UN career.

Something of the extent and magnitude of the population question gained recognition with the founding of the Population Commission in 1946. The Commission was created by the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) under Article 68 of the Charter of the United Nations which authorized the council to set up commissions in economic and social fields "to promote solutions of international economic, social, health and related problems."[158] The pursuit of that goal was seen to require an evolving perception of the demographics of population and of the relationship of population to both new and longstanding issues affecting humankind and the planet on which it depended.

The Population Commission was specifically charged by ECOSOC to arrange for studies and advise it on "population changes, the factors associated with such changes, the policies designed to influence these factors; the inter-relationships of economic and social conditions and population trends; migratory movements of population and factors associated with such movements."[159]

The Population Commission stressed the importance of the United Nations system widely using valid population statistics in its publications. It promoted the development of the Demographic Yearbook for universal reference, and took strong leadership in having population issues receive high priority in all UN affairs. To this end it promoted World Population Conferences in Rome in 1954, in Belgrade in 1965, and in Bucharest in 1974.

The Bucharest Conference, attended by delegates from 140 states, was a high-profile international event that developed a *Plan of Action* of enduring importance. The Plan affirmed that the population policy of each state is an integral part of its global policy of economic and social development and is an indivisible and incontestable attribute of state sovereignty. The Plan also presented a number of far-reaching principles and specific recommendations: countries should expand and deepen their capacities to deal effectively with their national and subnational population problems; their governments should integrate population measures into comprehensive social and economic plans and programs; priority should be given to the reduction of mortality and morbidity, with special attention to rural areas and underprivileged groups; countries should promote development programs, which have a decisive effect upon demographic trends, including fertility; agreements should be made to regulate the international migration of workers, provide social services for them and their families, and assure them of non-discriminatory treatment.

The principles and recommendations of the 1974 *Plan of Action* guided the programs of the Population Commission throughout and beyond the next world conference, in Mexico City in 1984. An important step that had been taken before the 1974 Conference was the General Assembly's establishment in 1967 of a trust fund, the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA). This was a recognition that the need for action on population issues could not be met within the UN's normal budget. It had proved essential that member nations provide voluntary contributions for population purposes.

Making the case, year after year, for voluntary contributions for population matters proved to be a demanding process. Evidence had to be provided that population questions needed urgent attention and that the expenditure of the requested funds was manifestly merited. The well-conceived process for eliciting voluntary contributions for UNFPA had many components. It culminated in an annual United Nations Pledging Conference, at which the Secretary-General urged countries to make a pledge of the amount of voluntary funds it would contribute to UNFPA the following year. He laid out, in graphic terms, the needs to be met and expressed the hope that all countries, especially those most able to do so, would increase their pledge over that of the previous year.

George Davidson was appointed as Advisor to UNFPA to assist in all aspects of the Commissions' work but especially to play a key role in the lead-up to the Pledging Conference. This involved a continuous process of working with the General Assembly and relevant population committees, as well as engaging in focussed discussions with individual member countries.

Davidson brought to the task a range of credentials. He carried to the new position well-merited esteem for having greatly strengthened the finances and personnel of the Secretariat during the 1970s. He was also known to have a profound grasp of the issues associated with populations gained during his UN years and through his Canadian experience with population issues in every position he had held in both the public and voluntary sectors.

Davidson's additional attributes for this role were extensive. The classical underpinning of his wide-ranging knowledge was a prime asset, as were his language skills and his Harvard credentials; the relationships he had formed in the non-governmental sector with the International Council on Social Welfare came into play; it was also helpful that his country was a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, as more and more of its members were liberated from their colonial past to become nation states in the burgeoning United Nations family. Being Canadian had manifold other benefits: Davidson was from a country without an imperialist stigma, with a record of contributing markedly to the Allied victory in World War II and to the early development of the United Nations. Canada, moreover, had become one of the 10 most generous contributors to the UN Fund for Population Activities and had a record, first through the Colombo Plan and later through the Canadian International Development Agency, of providing wide-ranging financial and technical assistance to developing countries.

Davidson also possessed an urbanity of manner and capacity for ease of friendship at every social level. This meant that he could carry with good grace the message of the vital importance of population to the many components of the UN family, including the specialized agencies.

Davidson's contribution to the essential task of raising the voluntary amounts for population purposes can only be a matter of speculation. A comparison can be drawn, however, from the record of the period prior to his joining the population program, when the annual amount averaged some $35 million a year, and the period of Davidson's tenure, when the annual amounts averaged over $130 million.

George Davidson's contribution to the population program extended, no less, to population policy. The Bucharest Conference of 1974 and its *Plan of Action* had provided a remarkably enduring analysis of population issues and the measures required to deal with them. By the end of the 1970s, however, changing circumstances, together with the dramatic changes in the demographics of both developed and developing countries, required constant reassessment of the priorities for the deployment of human and financial resources. With more extensive and accurate data being generated on fertility, on population density and on patterns of migration, emphasis shifted to training in analysis and population management. Population policies were increasingly linked with socio-economic policies and with improved use of human resources, notably measures to improve the role and status of women in development and to engage all family members in family planning and child care.

George Davidson's influence on the policy advances pursued in the 1980s reflected the wealth of experience he had gained in the social work, social welfare and social development roles he had carried in Canada. His work with the Population Commission was a major and fitting conclusion to the highly esteemed contributions he had made to the world body.

Chapter 13

Life and Legacy

George Davidson's professional career extended from 1933 to 1988. Of those 55 years, all but five were in the public sector, provincially, nationally or internationally. All were senior positions, usually involving both policy and management; all were carried with distinction.

Previous chapters have provided evidence of the personal endowments and circumstances throughout George Davidson's life that equipped him to carry each of his successive undertakings. There is, however, merit in touching on them sequentially for the further light they shed on his remarkably productive career.

In spite of having lost his mother, experienced a succession of mother substitutes, and lived with a father who was an obsessive invalid, George did not recall his early upbringing in Bass River as unhappy or damaging. Indeed, he credited his father with identifying his intellectual capacities and fostering them, even though through restrictive and harsh measures.

Being a son of Bass River, Colchester County, Nova Scotia was remarkably felicitous. It provided George with gifted ancestry and daily contact with a community renowned for its productivity – turning out ships, school desks and, especially, chairs. Bass River chairs, of which thousands were built and widely distributed, gained a repute illustrated by the establishment in the 1990s of a chain of highly successful stores selling household products in the Atlantic provinces under the name "Bass River Chairs."

George Davidson's positive feelings about his early years were revealed at a dinner in Vancouver in 1993 that included Fultons and Creelmans boasting Bass River roots. All were able to establish kinship connections on the sound assumption that, after five generations, every person in and from Bass River was at least a cousin of everyone else. George brought to that event a copy of the book *Colchester Men*, published by the Colchester Historical Society. George's brief biography was included with 130 others that, in total, testified convincingly to the human wealth of that small region of Canada. One of the other guests at the dinner was Dr. E. Margaret Fulton, OC, who, though a non-Catholic and a feminist, had been appointed to the presidency of Mount Saint Vincent, a Roman Catholic university in Halifax, a position she held for eight years. She wondered when a book would be published about the lives and accomplishments of Colchester *women*! That was a question that might also have been asked by another of the guests, Dr. Lyle Creelman, OC, whose distinguished career as an international nurse culminated in her carrying, with great distinction, the most senior nursing position in the World Health Organization.

George Davidson's years in New Westminster were no less fitting than his Bass River beginnings. They offered experience of life in a second and very different Canadian community, one with a contrastingly diverse population and many amenities. These included good schools that effectively moved George's education forward. Well before the end of the 20th century, both the Lord Lister Public School and the Duke of Connaught High School had disappeared, but their legacy of sound education lived on in the lives of George, his brother Allen, and scores of others. George had received his grounding in the classical languages and, as a winner of a Governor General's medal, had gained tangible proof of his intellectual endowment.

Entering the University of British Columbia in Vancouver at age 15 proved not to be a problem for George, perhaps because his brother Allen was there as a possible support, but more likely because he was tall, good-looking and self-assured. The relationships he formed with other students and with members of the classics faculty, together with his editorial experience on the *Ubyssey* and his award-winning academic record, crowned his UBC years. They paved the way for graduate study at a university of his choice, and there could be no other choice than Harvard.

Davidson's Harvard years were important for his attainment of degrees at the master's and doctoral level, and for the post-doctoral travelling fellowship he secured at graduation. They also provided him with an experience of life in the United States at a crucial period in the country's history. He saw it at a time of booming prosperity. He then witnessed the near collapse of the laissez-faire economy after the Black Thursday stock-market crash in 1929, followed by the country's descent into a depression of calamitous economic severity and social deprivation. He also was a spectator and modest participant in many aspects of the country's rich and varied society: its current literature, sports, radio, cinema and theatre.

Similarly, George Davidson's travel in 1932–33 through Western Europe was ideally timed to observe the rise of Fascism and Nazism, and the failure of France, England and other Western democracies to develop internal conditions and external policies to arrest what already appeared to be an unstoppable march to World War II.

George Davidson's entry into professional life in 1933 was characterized by great good fortune. His return to British Columbia was shortly after the election of a provincial government whose premier, Duff Pattullo, was determined to use the power of government to address the social and economic problems of the Depression. He had selected as a key minister Dr. George Weir, a brilliant leader who sought to promote progressive policies through the selection of outstanding talent. Two of those he appointed to reform the field of social welfare were Dr. Harry Cassidy and Dr. George Davidson. Harry Cassidy proved to be the ideal mentor for Davidson's entry into the field where he would carry leadership positions for the next 30 years.

Davidson's total of six years with the provincial government, along with his three interspersed years in social welfare roles in the non-governmental sector, provided ideal experiences in the field of social welfare. His dual role as executive head of both the social planning and the fundraising agencies in Vancouver gave him opportunity to work closely with the whole range of human needs at the community level. Because the quality of his work attracted wider attention, he was also seen as one who could contribute strongly to the evolving field of social work and social development, nationally and internationally. During his period as Director of Social Welfare for British Columbia, he was able to observe what could be accomplished through well-managed public services even in conditions of heavy demand and limited resources.

During his years in Victoria and Vancouver, George Davidson was closely associated with social workers and the young profession of social work. His relationships were with social workers in provincial programs, in a number of voluntary agencies, faculty and students at the UBC School of Social Work where he lectured on community development, and in the B.C. branches of the Canadian Association of Social Workers (CASW). Although graduation from a school of social work was normally required for CASW membership, persons working in the welfare field and seen to be supportive of the Association's goals could be admitted under "the exceptional circumstances clause." George Davidson was pleased to enter the profession. Membership proved helpful to him through the warm reception it gave him in social work circles and with social work leaders such as Joy Maines, executive secretary of CASW, Bessie Touzel, Phyllis Burns, Nora Lea, Joseph Laycock and many others.

Davidson's appointment in 1942 as executive director of Canada's major voluntary social welfare agency, the Canadian Welfare Council, came at a time when Canada's economic and social rebirth was assured even as it was contributing strongly to the Allied war against the Nazis, Fascists and Japanese militarists. The federal government and thoughtful Canadians began planning for a post-war Canada that would manage its affairs and its treatment of its human resources in ways designed to guard against a return to the despondent policies of the 1930s. Davidson set about to make the Council part of the movement "to build for our Canadian people a way of life, a social environment, a social security and a social incentive which will better fit our professions of democracy than the way of life we actually lived in the pre-war years."[160]

He found that the federal government, responding to the mood of the country, was beginning to lay plans for comprehensive social security. Accordingly, he set out to bring the social welfare community into support of an approach that would have governments, federal and provincial, playing vital roles in the lives of all Canadians through programs of social security. The plans included universal family allowances as a first step.

In urging support for family allowances as well as broader public measures, Davidson had to prevail against the very different position on social welfare policy taken by Charlotte Whitton, the renowned former head of the Council. By employing skillful advocacy and enlisting documentary support from complementary proposals of social policy authorities, Davidson moved the social welfare community toward receptivity to new approaches to meeting the human needs of Canadians. This support for family allowances from the head of Canada's most influential social welfare agency was welcomed by the Liberal government, and may have influenced the move to recruit Davidson to the top welfare position in the newly developed Department of National Health and Welfare.

It was in the position of Deputy Minister of National Welfare, from 1944 to 1960, that George Davidson made some of his greatest contributions to Canada. For the first several months, he was heavily engaged in launching the family allowances program and organizing the welfare side of the Department. He was nonetheless able to play a part with his Minister, Brooke Claxton, in the development of one of Canada's most influential policy documents: The Green Book Proposals.

The federal–provincial conference of 1945, at which the Green Book Proposals were presented as the blueprint for the post-war reconstruction of the Canadian economy and Canadian society, laid out a comprehensive social security system that became the foundation document for the development of the Canadian welfare state. This was the endeavour in which George Davidson played a leading role. The specific testimony to that extensive process is strong: family allowances, old age security, old age assistance, blind persons' allowances, disabled persons' allowances, civil defence, unemployment assistance, hospital care and diagnostic services, the groundwork for the Canada Pension Plan, the Canada Assistance Plan, and the *Medical Care Act.*

It was the quality of his work as deputy minister that led to Davidson's appointment to two roles at the very centre of government: heading the Bureau of Government Organization and becoming Secretary of the Treasury Board. He carried out these responsibilities of vital national importance successively with prime ministers Diefenbaker and Pearson and in close association with senior mandarins, notably Robert Bryce, Deputy Minister of Finance, and Gordon Robertson, Clerk of the Privy Council. With them he had become one of the three most senior and influential public servants in the government of Canada. He enjoyed close working relations, as well, with the most influential semi-political figure in the Pearson administration, Tom Kent.

George Davidson's term as president of the Canadian Broadcasting Company constituted an extension of his creative endeavours for his country. He described the CBC as "one of the great instruments of nation building,"[161] "an instrument for the welding together of a vigorous, dynamic, sometimes controversial, always action oriented twentieth century Canadian society."[162] He succeeded in the task assigned by Prime Minister Pearson of giving the CBC sound administration while continuously seeking to reflect "the infinite variety of programs, of challenges, of opportunities that confront us as Canadians."[163]

George Davidson had no difficulty in regarding his work in the United Nations as yet another endeavour in a public organization: the United Nations years were a continuation of his service to the public, moving him from provincial to national to international levels. The nature of George Davidson's work through his whole career is fittingly recognized as public service.

As indicated in the title, *George Davidson: Social Policy and Public Policy Exemplar* focuses on Davidson's working career: it has made scant reference to other parts of his life. However, some references to them in the manner of postscripts are merited. They touch on relationships and events both in and beyond his working life, on his two marriages and on his retirement.

George Davidson was married twice. The marriage to Ruth Henderson ended in divorce. His second marriage was to Anneke Kuiper in June 1975. For some years the couple were prominent members of the social life in New York that was linked to the United Nations and the diplomatic corps. The marriage terminated shortly after George's retirement from the United Nations, and he remained single for the rest of his life.

George Davidson enjoyed the relationships associated with his work. Examples abound. His warm relationship with the Cassidy family reached beyond Harry Cassidy's all-too-short lifetime. His friendships extended to friends from his university years to the voluntary and public sectors in Victoria and Vancouver, including the University of British Columbia's School of Social Work and to the leaders in the young profession of social work: with them, as with members of the interconnected social policy fields, he became a widely admired model, an exemplar. He enjoyed personal and professional friendships with members of the nationwide social welfare and social work communities during his years at the Canadian Welfare Council. These continued during his years as deputy minister and included the public service mandarins that he and Harry Cassidy had earlier spoken of disparagingly. The roles he played in bringing social policy legislation to parliamentary committees brought him into contacts with parliamentarians of all parties, leading to informal friendships where interests and personal magnetism prevailed. He enjoyed appropriately modulated friendships with his ministers and was especially close with Paul Martin, Waldo Montieth and Ellen Fairclough. As a senior government official he was invited to the many events of the diplomatic corps, where his early involvement with affairs of the United Nations provided additional linkages and associations.

George Davidson enjoyed good relations with his officials. He responded to requests to join in festivities, and, though not proclaiming an open-door policy, would respond to requests by staff members for interviews on their career interests. Notable examples included Norman Cragg, newly recruited to the Department after a senior appointment abroad, wanting advice on whether there were promising career prospects in the Department: he was reassured and, indeed, was to become the first director of the Canada Assistance Plan. A newly appointed member of the Research Division, Sylva Gelber, who had carried significant responsibilities in the British Administration of Palestine, sought and received helpful advice from Dr. Davidson on how to deal with publication problems and opportunities: her successes in research and writing contributed to her later appointment as Director of the Women's Bureau. A third example was Lloyd Francis, a senior official in the Research Division who sought advice on his long-term prospect of moving to the political sphere: he received Davidson's encouragement and was able to establish a career first in civic politics, then in Parliament and, toward the end of the Trudeau era, becoming Speaker of the House of Commons.

In an exchange of correspondence with a former executive assistant, Davidson showed a comparably supportive interest in efforts to bring some historical perspective into the conduct of current policy. His reflections on this point are of interest:

> What the field of social welfare needs, perhaps more than anything else is a corps of leaders and workers who bring to it a sense of history, a perspective in time, an attachment to tradition, a philosophy, and an appreciation of all those qualitative elements in our life which attach us to the culture of the past and influence and shape the culture of our future.
>
> I think that my own classical background and training have been of inestimable value to me in that context. I believe too that your cultivated and civilized attachment to those elements which are most meaningful in our past experience, as evidenced by your interest in delving into the history of early social work beginnings, holds more of promise for the enrichment of the stream of professional social work thinking, than much that we hear in the modern jargon of social work techniques and mechanics.[164]

The atmosphere in the departments and agencies Davidson headed was affected by his example of commitment to the serious objectives being pursued. Good work was expected, and in general, delivered. In a large bureaucracy there were inevitable instances of staff being promoted to what the Peter Principle called their "level of incompetence," and where this occurred Davidson found ways of reassigning workloads and letting early retirement solve the matter rather than resorting to dismissal. A factor in his own various promotions to larger responsibilities was that good morale was a hallmark of the organizations he headed.

A few examples of George Davidson's sense of humour have been described earlier: sardonic in his acceptance of the CBC appointment; trenchant in reaction to General Charles de Gaulle's inflammatory speech. In general, however, his wit, though often sharp, was light and good natured and sometimes mildly deprecating of himself or the organization he was representing. During one of Davidson's lighthearted addresses when he was leaving Health and Welfare for Citizenship and Immigration, he referred genially to having been admitted to CASW before standards of entry were raised to the current level that he would be unable to meet!

His public speeches during his presidency of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation offer further examples. In discussing the CBC, he referred to programs that he personally deplored as well as those he enjoyed but agreed with an old Latin proverb that he translated as "There is no accounting for taste."

George Davidson's legacy is multi-dimensional, extending to the many areas of human endeavour in which he served. It has yet to be fully recognized and celebrated.

George Davidson was a key figure in what was a golden age of social welfare development in British Columbia and Canada. During his years, 1933–1942, in British Columbia, the province was viewed by national observers as the most vital and promising component of the emerging Canadian social welfare entity. George Davidson's work at the community level in Vancouver and at the provincial level in Victoria positively affected social work and social welfare in ways that had enduring impact.

An important part of George Davidson's legacy to non-governmental community service in Canada was in propelling the Canadian Welfare Council forward from charity to social security, from the dependency-based approaches of Charlotte Whitton to the liberating means of meeting common human needs through the universally available public measures advanced by Leonard Marsh, Harry Cassidy and J.J. Heagerty.

The nationwide perspective that Davidson gained during his period with the Canadian Welfare Council fitted him for participation both in the creation and application of the Green Book Proposals of 1945. His continued adherence to the objective of converting the Proposals into the building blocks of the Canadian welfare state stands as a prime element in the plenitude of his legacies.

A legacy with notable public policy potential is the George Davidson Memorial Lecture Series, created in 1997 by the Treasury Board of the federal government. The establishment of the lecture series constituted recognition that Davidson was the first Secretary of the Treasury Board after that position had been elevated by the *Financial Administration Act* 1967 to one of commanding importance in the Government of Canada.

In the first address in the series, on ethics in government, the Hon. Mitchell Sharp paid eloquent tribute to Davidson:

> George Davidson was an extremely effective public servant, not only because he was experienced, well informed and had good judgement, but because he was open and candid in his dealings with politicians which added to his influence and his reputation .... He deserves to be remembered as one of those Canadian public servants who pursued a leadership role in the governing of Canada from a position of political neutrality .... I don't think I ever spoke to George about [ethics in government] but his whole career bespeaks a high standard of moral conduct. No one could ever doubt that he gave priority to the public interest.[165]

Davidson's legacy in the field of public broadcasting lay in bringing stability to the CBC, carrying forward its best traditions, restoring radio as a major and continuing part of the media universe, steering a steady course through the period of "apprehended insurrection," and reinforcing the necessity for the national broadcasting system to respect and reflect unpopular and challenging points of view. As more than a postscript in the assessment of his legacy was Davidson's appointment of Laurent Picard, who, as his vice-president and successor, both complemented and supplemented the Davidson legacy.

Aspects of the Davidson legacy that are to the fore in the Memorial Lecture Series have their basis in his contributions as Secretary of the Treasury Board and as the one most involved in the implementation of the Glassco proposals on governmental administration. What may be missed is what he brought to his administrative assignment from his years of affinity with the fields of social work and social development: dedication to the human services that continued to nourish his commitment to humane values throughout his years as a senior policy and management mandarin.

Davidson spent his later years, from 1988 until his death in 1995, in British Columbia, settling into a comfortable apartment in Oak Bay, a seaside suburb of Victoria. Victoria was where his professional career had begun 55 years earlier. His eldest son, Roger, was a professor at the University of Victoria, and George saw Oak Bay as a good location for the quiet retirement that was his clear choice.

For most of his seven retirement years he enjoyed good health and, although he did not accept speaking engagements or undertake extensive writing, he retained an interest in Canadian and world affairs.

On the world stage Davidson witnessed, with growing concern, what was happening to "globalization." From a term and concept that might well have honoured and embodied the principles on which the United Nations was founded, it was being subverted and commercialized. He witnessed its increasing takeover by transnational corporate interests determined to gain access to markets for their products and services, overriding measures that countries needed to protect their identity, economy, culture and environment.

In discussions on public policy in Canada he shared the deep concern of the social welfare community at the success of those attacking the values, concepts and programs that had created the Canadian welfare state. The most vocal example was the Fraser Institute, a conservative policy organization, based in Vancouver, which from the mid-1970s waged an unceasing attack on public programs in general, and on social programs in particular. Its views were reflected in the policies of the Progressive Conservative prime minister, Brian Mulroney, who held office from 1984 to 1992. Frustrated in an attempted frontal attack on Old Age Security, the Mulroney government practiced what was described as "social policy by stealth," primarily through complex manipulation of taxation programs to eliminate or erode social programs. Its treatment of the family allowances program, converting it from its universal, or demogrant, origins to an income-tested program, was deeply disturbing to George Davidson, who had brought the program into being in his earliest days in the federal government.

The failure of the Liberal Government, elected in 1992, to undo the damage done to social programs in the previous period, caused Davidson to fear that the values honoured in the years he was a public policy mandarin were being lost.

He found some reassurance, however, in the endurance of the broad range of policies pursued during his years in the Canadian public service. This was revealed in the international assessment of the nations of the world by one of the most influential bodies of the United Nations, the United Nations Development Program, UNDP. The significance of UNDP in an assessment of the continuing contribution of the Davidson years in the Canadian government was its development in its early 1990s of the United Nations Human Development Index. This sophisticated instrument rated the countries of the world on the basis of elements in the life of the country that affect human development. Davidson could feel some satisfaction in finding that Canada stood at or near the top among the 150 countries rated.

During his retirement years, George Davidson welcomed communication and visits from friends of long standing. Notable among his closest contacts was Dr. Donald Williams, a renowned dermatologist who had lived with the Davidsons in Ottawa during his wartime service. George had more distant linkages with associates from various of his international roles. They included Geneviève d'Autheville, a woman whose work in the wartime underground had won her France's highest honour, and with whom Davidson communicated for many years by telephone and mail.

Among associates from his CBC years who visited him was Peter Meggs, with whom he agreed to record his views on Canadian affairs in an interview in 1995. He also agreed to interviews with scholars and authors, including Clyde Sanger, whose book on *Canadians and the United Nations* emphasized Davidson's efforts to coordinate the many distinct components of the United Nations family. Another friend from his United Nations years was Geoffrey Bruce, who tried "to encourage him to record at least some of the highlights of his life, and particularly of his years in the UN."[166]

George Davidson died of cancer on July 22, 1995, after a relatively short illness. His daughter, Barbara (Mrs. Barbara Vitale), was with him while he was at his residence at Oak Bay. Near the end, he was cared for in the home of his son Roger and daughter-in-law Cherie. A memorial service was held in the Interfaith Chapel of the University of Victoria. A suggested recipient of memoriam donations was UNICEF.

That small parting gesture testified to George Davidson's enduring devotion to the international world. International causes had engaged much of his professional life. He was an internationalist – viewing Canada as a member of an international community of independent countries pursuing common interests and objectives within the United Nations.

It was, however, Canada, his native land, that claimed George Davidson's first loyalty and to which he had devoted the major part of his career. And it is his contributions to Canada that this study has mainly sought to portray. He was a major player in perhaps the finest period in Canadian history – the period in which public policy created the Canadian welfare state. George Davidson, as a public policy mandarin, had managed to infuse humane values into the formation and exercise of public policy.

Davidson would, accordingly, have approved of the goals of John Godfrey and Rob McLean, the authors of *The Canada We Want.* In viewing the achievements of the decades following the Second World War, the authors gave prominence to "six great national projects" that provided the foundation for the crowning achievements of that period. The book's premise is that the nation's effective survival in the new century can be achieved "only through the planning and implementation of such great strategic acts or National Projects."[167] They proceeded to identify and analyse a number of such projects – the creative outcome of "a larger, more generous vision of Canada that is both rational and sensible."[168]

Launching those national projects would require the convening of a top-level federal–provincial conference, comparable in intent and potential to the great Reconstruction Conference of 1945. Although that endeavour failed in its short-term objectives, its ultimate success stemmed from what could be deemed to be its manifesto: the Green Book Proposals. As affirmed in the preceding chapters, the Green Book Proposals provided both the inspiration and the blueprint for the creation of the socio-economic programs of the nation's finest period.

The proposed Reconstruction Conference of the 21st century would require a state paper of comparable weight and vision to the Green Book Proposals. It would incorporate the central ideas outlined by Godfrey and McLean, and reflect their support of what John Ralston Saul has stated to be the most crucial need for long-term integrated policy, namely the area of social policy.[169] And, as an essential complement of it, the enlistment and preparation of men and women with the qualities of intellect, high purpose and humane motivation reflected in this study. In the 21st century, the life and work of George Davidson offer guidance for the restoration of social values within the public policies of Canadian governments: essential for the creation of the Canada we want.

Appendix

Selected Writings of George Davidson, CC, PhD

"Qouomodo et qua ratione poetae scaenici Euripides Menanderque personas in scaenam introduxerint." Doctoral thesis, Harvard University, 1930.

The Vancouver Council of Social Agencies. The Vancouver Social Welfare Federation. *Annual Reports*. (1936–1939) The reports, some 10 to 14 pages in length, are important models of exposition on social planning and fundraising.

Canadian Welfare Council. Annual reports during Dr. Davidson's tenure as executive director. 1942, 1943, and 1944 are important for the insights they provide into social planning in a period of total war and for the indications they give of the prospective nature of post-war development of social security.

Canadian Welfare, 1942–1944, the monthly publication of the Canadian Welfare Council, which George Davidson edited and in which he sought to move the thinking of the social welfare community toward new social policy approaches.

———, "The Marsh Report on Social Security for Canada." *Canadian Welfare*, Volume 19, Number 1, 1943: 3–6.

———, "The Whitton and Marsh Proposals – A Comparison and a Contrast." *Canadian Welfare*, Volume 19, 1944: 11–14.

———, "Family Allowances, An Instalment on Social Security." *Canadian Welfare*, Volume 20, Number 3, 1944: 11–14.

"The Economic Welfare of Children: The Role of Family Allowances." Address to the 76th Annual Meeting, National Conference of Social Work, 15 June 1949.

Testimony to the Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Old Age Security, 28 June 1950.

"Issues in Social Security." Hewitt Bostock Memorial Lecture, University of British Columbia, 11 January 1951.

"Welcoming Two Conferences to Toronto." 26 June 1954, In *Proceedings of the Fourteenth Biennial Canadian Conference on Social Work*, Toronto, and *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference of Social Work*, Toronto, June 27 to July 3, 1954.

"Social Welfare in Canada, 1930–1955." In *Social Welfare and the Preservation of Human Values*, Anniversary Papers of the School of Social Work of the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, 28 October 1955.

Proceedings of the Eighth Assembly of the International Conference of Social Work, Munich, 1956.

"Common Devotion to Improving the Social Order." In *Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on Social Work*, Munich, 1 July 1956.

Presidential address to the Ninth International Conference on Social Work, Tokyo, 1958.

Presidential address to the Tenth International Conference on Social Work, Rome, 1960.

Conference address to the Canadian Education Association, 1961.

"CBC Faces the Challenge of Change." Address to the Canadian Club of Toronto, 29 April 1968.

"CBC Looks to the Future." Address to the Vancouver Board of Trade, 27 May 1968.

"CBC Today and Tomorrow." Address to the Rotary Club of Toronto, 25 October 1968.

"Please Don't Shoot the Piano Player." Address to the Rotary Club of Montreal, 10 December 1968.

"CBC One Year After." Address to the Rotary Club of Hamilton, 6 February 1969.

Statement by the president, Parliamentary Committee on Broadcasting, 18 February 1969.

"Change and Challenge for the CBC." Address to the Mens' Canadian Club, Winnipeg, 6 March 1969.

"Creativity in a Strange and Difficult World." Convocation Address, McMaster University, 24 May 1973.

"Maintaining an Effective Work Force in the United Nations." Public Address, Ottawa, 17 September 1979.

Notes

1 John Godfrey and Rob McLean, *The Canada We Want*, 1999, pp. 26–27.

2 Colchester Historical Society, *Colchester Men: Biographical Sketches*, 1993.

3 Colchester Historical Society, p. 36.

4 Margaret A. Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History*, 1958, pp. 174–175.

5 Ormsby, p. 176.

6 Ormsby, pp. 177–178.

7 Ormsby, p. 176.

8 University of British Columbia, *Annual Report*, 1920, pp. 1–7.

9 *Totem*, 1924, p. 1.

10 George Davidson, "Issues in Social Security," Hewitt Bostock Memorial Lecture, 1951, p. 1.

11 *Totem*, 1926, p. 17.

12 *Totem*, p. 77.

13 *Ubyssey*, October 1927, p. 4.

14 *Ubyssey*, March 23, 1928, p. 2

15 *Totem*, 1927, p. 71.

16 *Totem*, 1930, p. 23.

17 Calvin Coolidge, *New Republic*, December 5, 1928, p. 27.

18 Francis Bowes Sayre, *Atlantic Monthly*, July 1929, p. 29.

19 Samuel Eliot Morrison, *History of Harvard, 1869–1929*, 1930, p. 27.

20 Seymour Martin Lipset and David Riesman, *Education and Politics at Harvard*, 1975, p. 33.

21 Yeomans, pp. 316–317.

22 Ormsby, p. 456.

23 Carolyn Cox, "Dr. Weir's Young Men," *National Home Monthly*, May 1944, p. 4.

24 Allan Irving, "A Canadian Fabian: The Life and Work of Harry Cassidy" (doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1982), p. 39.

25 Charles B. Saunders, Jr., *The Brookings Institution: A Fifty-year History*, 1966, p. 36.

26 William G. Dixon, *Social Welfare and the Preservation of Human Values*, 1957, p. 21.

[27] Irving, p. 195.

[28] Irving, p. 196.

[29] Irving, p. 198.

[30] Monica Green, *Through the Years with Public Health Nursing*, 1983.

[31] National Film Board of Canada, *A Friend at the Door*, 1940.

[32] Irving, p. 222.

[33] Harvard, Department of Classics, March 20, 1935.

[34] Ormsby, p. 469.

[35] Vancouver, Vancouver Social Welfare Federation, *Annual Report*, 1936, p. 2.

[36] Vancouver Social Welfare Federation, 1937, p. 13.

[37] Dixon, p. 20.

[38] Vancouver, Vancouver Council of Social Agencies, *Annual Report*, 1938, p. 9.

[39] Council, 1937, p. 3.

[40] Council, 1939, p. 14.

[41] Federation, 1937, p. 2.

[42] Federation, 1938, p. 5.

[43] Federation, 1938, p. 6.

[44] Federation, 1936, p. 10.

[45] Federation, 1937, p. 10.

[46] Federation, 1938, p. 14.

[47] Federation, 1938, p. 12.

[48] Federation, 1936, p. 10.

[49] Federation, 1938, p. 7.

[50] Federation, 1938, p. 7.

[51] Federation, 1938, p. 14.

[52] *Victoria Daily Times*, 30 December 1938.

[53] *Canadian Welfare*, February 1955, pp. 37–38.

[54] Richard Splane, *75 Years of Community Service to Canada: Canadian Council on Social Development 1920–1995*, 1996, pp. 9–18.

[55] Rooke and Schnell, p. 105.

[56] *Canadian Welfare*, January 1942, pp. 1–3

[57] *Canadian Welfare*, Feb–March 1942, pp. 2–3.

[58] British Columbia. Royal Commission on Japanese Settlement (Jackson Report), 1941, p. 1.

[59] Jackson Report, p. 14.

60 Canadian Welfare Council, *Annual Report*, 1942, p. 2.

61 Canadian Welfare Council, *Annual Report*, 1942, p. 28

62 Canadian Welfare Council, *Annual Report*, 1943, p. 4.

63 *Canadian Welfare*, January 1943, p. 7.

64 *Canadian Welfare*, 1942, p. 4.

65 Harry M. Cassidy, *Social Security and Reconstruction in Canada*, 1943.

66 Charlotte Whitton, *The Dawn of Ampler Life: Some Aids to Social Security*, 1942.

67 Canadian Welfare Council, *Annual Report*, 1943, p. 4.

68 Canadian Welfare Council, *Annual Report*, 1944, p. 3.

69 Canadian Welfare Council, *Annual Report*, 1944, p. 4.

70 Canadian Welfare Council, *Annual Report*, 1944, p. 2.

71 Harry M. Cassidy, "The Task of Social Work," *The Social Worker*, March 1933, pp. 1–2.

72 Paul Martin, *A Very Public Life: Volume I, Far From Home*, p. 125.

73 L.D. Marsh, *Report on Social Security for Canada*, 1943 (reprinted 1975), p. 30.

74 David J. Bercuson, *True Patriot*, p. 4.

75 George Davidson, letter to Harry Cassidy, 30 June 1944.

76 Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1944, p. 5335.

77 Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates*, p. 5525.

78 Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates*, p. 5528.

79 Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates*, p. 5677.

80 Bercuson, pp. 129–133.

81 Bercuson, p. 141.

82 Bercuson, p. 141.

83 Gordon Robertson, *Memoirs of a Very Civil Servant: Mackenzie King to Pierre Trudeau*, 2000, p. 70.

84 Canada. Parliament. Proceedings of the Dominion–Provincial Conference on Reconstruction, August 1945, p. 113.

85 Canada. Parliament. Proceedings of the Dominion–Provincial Conference on Reconstruction, August 1945, p. 7 (This citation was used for the Green Book Proposals).

86 Canada. Parliament. Proceedings of the Dominion–Provincial Conference on Reconstruction, August 1945, pp. 20–21.

87 J.L. Granatstein, *The Ottawa Men: The Civil Servant Mandarins, 1935–1957*, 1982, p. 165.

[88] Davidson, letter to Cassidy, 12 March 1943.

[89] Canada. Parliament. Proceedings of the Dominion–Provincial Conference on Reconstruction, August 1945, pp. 84, 102.

[90] Granatstein, pp. 14–18.

[91] Cox, p. 24.

[92] Paul Martin, *A Very Public Life: Volume II, So Many Worlds, 1985*, p. 53.

[93] Martin, 1985, p. 34.

[94] Martin, 1985, p. 23.

[95] Martin, 1985, p. 53.

[96] Canada. Parliament. Proceedings of the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Old Age Security, 1952, p. 49.

[97] James Struthers, *The Canadian Welfare State*, p. 20.

[98] Splane, pp. 29–30.

[99] Martin, 1985, p. 146.

[100] Martin, 1985, p. 243.

[101] Department of National Health and Welfare, *Annual Report*, 1957, p. 10.

[102] Department of National Health and Welfare, *Annual Report*, 1958, 1959, 1960.

[103] Ellen Louks Fairclough, *Saturday's Child: Memoirs of Canada's First Female Cabinet Minister*, 1995, p. 119.

[104] Fairclough, p. 119.

[105] Fairclough, p. 119.

[106] Fairclough, p. 123.

[107] John Melling, quoted in *The Globe and Mail* [Toronto], October 17, 1961.

[108] Davidson, Conference Proceedings, Canadian Education Association, 1962.

[109] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1962, p. 2649.

[110] The Royal Commission on Government Organization (The Glassco Report) 1963, p. 8.

[111] Glassco, p. 10.

[112] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1963, p. 4393.

[113] Peter C. Newman, *The Canadian Establishment*, Vol. 1, p. 32.

[114] McCutcheon, *A Layman Looks at Welfare*, Canadian Welfare Council, 1957.

[115] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1962, p. 2130.

[116] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1962, p. 2132.

[117] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates*, p. 2131.

[118] Glassco, pp. 67–77.

[119] Glassco, p. 67.

[120] Glassco, p. 72.

[121] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1963, p. 925.

[122] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1963, p. 925.

[123] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1963, p. 925.

[124] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1963, p. 4993.

[125] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1963, p. 4993.

[126] Granatstein, pp. 2–3.

[127] Tom Kent, *A Public Purpose: An Experience of Liberal Opposition and Canadian Government*, 1988, p. 77.

[128] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1963, p. 24.

[129] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1963, p. 24.

[130] Canada. Parliament. House of Commons, *Debates*, 1963, p. 5711.

[131] Lester B. Pearson, *Mike: The Memoir of the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson*, 1972, pp. 190–191.

[132] Knowlton Nash, *The Microphone Wars: A History of Triumph and Betrayl at the CBC*, 1994, p. 377.

[133] Nash, p. 380.

[134] Canada. Parliament. Aird Commission, *Report*, October 1929, p. 7.

[135] Nash, p. 89.

[136] Pearson, p. 190.

[137] Nash, p. 192.

[138] Nash, p. 396.

[139] Nash, p. 396.

[140] Nash, p. 392.

[141] Nash, p. 392.

[142] Nash, p. 381.

[143] Nash, p. 401.

[144] Nash, p. 401.

[145] Peter Meggs, letter to Richard Splane, 9 November 2001.

[146] Ancicum, *René Sand and the Culture of Human Values*, 1988, p. 17.

[147] Proceedings of the Fourteenth Biennial Canadian Conference on Social Work, Toronto, 26 June 1954, pp. 88–89.

[148] Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference of Social Work, Toronto, June 27–July 3, 1954, p. 183.

[149] Proceedings of the Eighth Assembly of the International Conference of Social Work, Munich, 1956, pp. 230, 231.

[150] Charter of the United Nations, 1945, Article, p. 62.

[151] The International Labour Organization, World Health Organization, United Nations Children's Fund; Food and Agriculture Organization; United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization; International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; the International Monetary Fund. These were seven of the UN's 15 specialized agencies.

[152] Clyde Sanger, *Canadians and the United Nations*, p. 116.

[153] George Davidson, "Maintaining an Effective Work Force in the United Nations," Public Address, Ottawa, 17 September 1979.

[154] Davidson, 1979.

[155] Davidson, 1979.

[156] Davidson, 1979.

[157] Davidson, 1979.

[158] United Nations. Economic and Social Council, Article 68.

[159] United Nations. Economic and Social Council, Article 68.

[160] Canadian Welfare Council, *Annual Report*, 1943, p. 4.

[161] George Davidson, "BC Looks to the Future," Address to the Vancouver Board of Trade, 27 May 1968, p. 3.

[162] George Davidson, "CBC Faces the Challenge of Change," Address to the Canadian Club of Toronto, 29 April 1968, p. 2.

[163] George Davidson, "Change and Challenge for the CBC," Address to the Men's Canadian Club, Winnipeg, 6 March 1969, p. 30.

[164] George Davidson, letter to Richard Splane, 22 May 1960.

[165] Mitchell Sharp, George Davidson Memorial Lecture, 16 June 1997, p. 2.

[166] Geoffrey Bruce, letter to Richard Splane, 25 April 2000.

[167] John Godfrey and Rob McLean, *The Canada We Want*, 1999, p. 31.

[168] Godfrey and McLean, p. 88.

[169] Godfrey and McLean, p. 30.

Bibliography

(Please see also *Appendix: Selected writings of George Davidson, CC, PhD*)

Books

Armitage, Andrew. (1975). *Social Welfare in Canada.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Anciaux, Alain. (1988). *René Sand and the Culture of Human Values.* Ottawa: International Council on Social Welfare.

Banting, Keith. (1982). The Welfare State and Canadian Federalism. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Barman, Jean. (1991). The West Beyond the West: A History of British Columbia. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Bercusson, David J. (1993). *True Patriot.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Beveridge, William H. (1942). *Social Insurance and Allied Services* (the "Beveridge Report"). New York: MacMillan.

Bruce, Maurice. (1961). *The Coming of the Welfare State.* London: B.T. Botsford.

Cairns, Alan C. (2000). *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

Cassidy, Harry M. (1939). *Public Health and Welfare Reorganization in Canada.* Toronto: Ryerson Press.

———. (1943). *Social Security and Reconstruction in Canada.* Toronto: Ryerson Press.

Colchester Historical Society. (1993). *Colchester Men: Biographical Sketches.* Sackville, New Brunswick: The Tribune Press Limited.

Creighton, Donald. (1970). *Canada's First Century.* Toronto: MacMillan.

———. (1976). *The Forked Road: Canada, 1939–1957.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Dixon, William G. (1957). *Social Welfare and the Preservation of Human Values.* Vancouver: J.M. Dent & Sons.

Doern, G. Bruce, and Richard W. Phidd. (1983). *Canadian Public Policy: Ideas, Structure, Process.* Toronto: Methuen.

Doern, G. Bruce, and V. Seymour Wilson, eds. (1974). *Issues in Canadian Public Policy.* Toronto: MacMillan of Canada.

Fairclough, Ellen Louks. (1995). *Saturday's Child: Memoirs of Canada's First Female Cabinet Minister.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Godfrey, John, and Rob McLean. (1999). *The Canada We Want.* Toronto: Stoddart Publishing.

Granastein, J.L. (1982). *The Ottawa Men: The Civil Servant Mandarins, 1935–1957.* Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Green, Monica. (1983). *Through the Years with Public Health Nursing.* Ottawa: Canadian Public Health Association.

Guest, Dennis. (1999). The Emergence of Social Security in Canada. 3rd ed. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Haddow, Rodney S. (1993). *Poverty Reform in Canada, 1958–1978: State and Class Influences on Policy Making.* Montreal: McGill–Queen's University Press.

Irving, Allan. "A Canadian Fabian: The Life and Work of Harry Cassidy." Doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1982.

———. (1998). *Brock Chisholm: Doctor to the World.* Markham, Ontario: Fitzhenry and Whiteside.

Kent, Tom. (1988). *A Public Purpose: An Experience of Liberal Opposition and Canadian Government.* Montreal: McGill–Queen's University Press.

———. (1962). *Social Policy for Canada.* Ottawa: Policy Press.

King, W.L. Mackenzie. (1918). *Industry and Humanity.* Toronto: Thomas Allen.

LaMarsh, Judy. (1969). *Judy LaMarsh: Memoirs of a Bird in a Gilded Cage.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

League for Social Reconstruction. (1935). *Social Planning for Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Lipset, Seymour Martin, and David Riesman. (1975). *Education and Politics at Harvard.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Logan, Harry T. (1958). *Tuum Est: A History of the University of British Columbia.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

McCutcheon, Wallace. (1957). A *Layman Looks at Welfare.* Ottawa: Canadian Welfare Council.

Marsh, Leonard C. (1943). *Report on Social Security for Canada.* Reprint 1975. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

———. (1950). "The Welfare State: Is it a Threat to Canada?" In *Proceedings of the Canadian Conference on Social Work.* Ottawa: Canadian Conference on Social Work.

Martin, Paul. (1983). *A Very Public Life: Volume I, Far From Home.* Ottawa: Deneau Publishers.

———. (1985). *A Very Public Life: Volume II, So Many Worlds.* Ottawa: Deneau Publishers.

Morgan, John S. (1961). "The Social Services in Canada." In *Social Purpose in Canada.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Morrison, Samuel Eliot. (1930). *History of Harvard, 1869–1929.* Boston: Harvard Press.

Nash, Knowlton. (1994). *The Microphone Wars: A History of Triumph and Betrayal at the CBC.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Newman, Peter C. (1963). *Renegade in Power: The Diefenbaker Years.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

———. (1989). *The Canadian Establishment (Vol. 1).* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Ormsby, Margaret A. (1958). *British Columbia: A History.* Vancouver: Macmillan of Canada.

Pearson, Lester B. (1972). *Mike: The Memoirs of the Right Honourable Lester B. Pearson.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Peers, Frank W. (1969). *The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting, 1920–1957.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Robertson, Gordon. (2000). *Memoirs of a Very Civil Servant: Mackenzie King to Pierre Trudeau.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Rooke, P.T. and R.L. Schnell. (1987). *No bleeding heart: Charlotte Whitton, a feminist on the right.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

Sanger, Clyde. (1988). *Canadians and the United Nations.* Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services.

Saul, John Ralston. (1997). *Reflections of a Siamese Twin: Canada at the End of the Twentieth Century.* Toronto: Penguin Books Canada.

Sinclair, Upton. (1928). *Boston.* New York: A. and C. Boni.

Saunders, Jr., Charles B. (1966). *The Brookings Institution: A Fifty-Year History.* Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution.

Splane, Richard. (1996). *75 Years of Community Service to Canada: Canadian Council on Social Development, 1920–1995.* Ottawa: Canadian Council on Social Development.

Struthers, James. (1966). *The Canadian Welfare State.* Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.

Tester, Frank James, and Peter Kulchyski. (1994). *Tammarniit (Mistakes): Inuit Relocation in the Eastern Arctic, 1939–63.* Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

United Nations. (1945). *Charter of the United Nations.*

Weir, E. Austin. (1965). *The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Weir, George M. (1932). *Survey of Nursing Education in Canada.* Ottawa: Canadian Nurses Association.

Whitton, Charlotte. (1942). *The Dawn of Ampler Life: Some Aids to Social Security.* Toronto: MacMillan.

Periodicals and Addresses

Bellamy, Donald. "Welfare." *Canadian Annual Review* (1970), 464–75.

Canadian Welfare, a magazine published eight times a year by the Canadian Welfare Council. Citations in the 1940s and 1950s.

Canadian Welfare Council. *Annual Reports,* 1940s and 1950s.

Cassidy, Harry M. "The Canadian Social Services." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 253 (1947): 190–201.

———. "Unemployment Insurance for Canada." *Queen's Quarterly* (1931).

———. "The Task of Social Work." *The Social Worker* (March 1933): 1-2.

———. "Children's Allowances – Pro or Con?" *Canadian Welfare* 19, no. 5 (1943): 1.

Coolidge, Calvin. Quoted in "The Coolidge's Paradise." *New Republic* (Dec. 5, 1928): 82.

Cox, Carolyn. "Dr. Weir's Young Men." *National Home Monthly* (May 1944): 18-26.

Davidson, George. F. see Appendix.

Falk, Howard T. "Mothers Allowances." *Social Welfare* 1, no. 6 (1919): 131.

———. "Family Problems in Relief." *Child and Family Welfare* 9, no. 2 (1933): 29–30.

Forsey, Eugene. "Social Security for Canada." *Canadian Unionist* 16, no. 11 (1943): 274–5.

Globe and Mail. Toronto newspaper cited 17 October 1961.

Morgan, John S., and Albert Rose. "The Unfinished Business in Social Security." *Social Worker* 33 (1965): 182–9.

Pearson, Lester B. (1954). "The World We Live In." Address to the seventh International Conference of Social Work, Toronto, 27 June to 3 July 1954.

Sayre, Francis Bowes. (1929). *Atlantic Monthly* (July 1929): 1-11.

Sharp, Mitchell. (1997). "Ethics in Government." George Davidson Memorial Lecture, 16 June 1997.

Smiley, Donald. "Public Administration and Canadian Federalism." *Canadian Public Administration* 7 (1964): 371–88.

———. "Social Work Looks at Parliament." *Canadian Welfare* 24, no. 8 (1949): 20–1.

Totem, 1921, 1926, 1927, 1930.

Touzel, Bessie. "Two Points of View on Social Security." *Social Worker* 12, no. 4 (1944): 3–8.

Ubyssey. Student publication, University of British Columbia, cited 1924–1928.

University of British Columbia. Annual Report, 1920.

Victoria Daily Times. Victoria, British Columbia, newspaper, cited 30 December 1938.

Wolfenden, Hugh H. "Social Security – The Ideas of Beveridge and Others." *Industrial Canada* 44, no. 8 (1943): 76–80.

Woodsworth, J.S. "Parliament as a Social Welfare Agency." *Social Welfare* 10, no. 11 (1928): 255–62.

Government Reports and Publications

BRITISH COLUMBIA

British Columbia. Department of the Provincial Secretary. *Annual Reports*, 1933–1949.

British Columbia. Royal Commission on Japanese Settlement (the Jackson Report), 1941.

Vancouver. The Vancouver Council on Social Agencies. *Annual Reports*, 1935–1939.

Vancouver. The Vancouver Social Welfare Federation. *Annual Reports*, 1935–1939.

CANADA

Canada. Parliament. Aird Commission Report, October 1929.

Canada. Parliament. Canada Dominion–Provincial Conference on Reconstruction, Ottawa, August 1945 (the Green Book Proposals).

Dominion–Provincial Co-operative Arrangements

Dominion Subsidies to Provinces

Health, Welfare and Labour

Proceedings, August 6–10, 1945

Proposals of the Government of Canada

Public Investment and Capital Formation

Canada. Parliament. Department of National Health and Welfare. *Annual Reports*, 1944–1961.

Canada. Parliament. Department of Citizenship and Immigration. *Annual Reports*, 1961–1963.

Canada. Parliament. House of Commons. *Debates*, 1944–1982.

Canada. Parliament. Proceedings of the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Old Age Security, 1952.

Canada. Parliament. Royal Commission on Health Services, 1964 (The Hall Report).

Canada. Parliament. Royal Commission on government Organization, 1963 (The Glassco Report).

Heagerty, J.J. *Health Insurance*. Report of the Advisory Committee on Health Insurance, House of Commons Special Committee on Social Security, 1943.

Index

Note: In this Index, "GD" stands for George Davidson.

A

A Friend at the Door, 55
Aboriginal people, 97, 134-6, 159
aged persons, 117-19, 124. *See also* old age security
Aird Commission, 8, 155-6, 160
Auditor General, 141-2

B

Bass River, Nova Scotia, 5, 9-16, 34, 43, 173, 195-6
Bennett, R.B., 43, 46, 156
Beveridge Report (Social Insurance and Allied Services), 82
Beveridge, William, 82
blind persons, 114, 117, 119-20, 123, 126, 129. *See also* disabled persons
Bostock lectures, 26-7
Bracken, John, 83, 100-2
British Columbia, government of, 47-8, 51-6, 68-75, 197-8, 204
British Columbia, University of *See* University of British Columbia
Broadcasting Act, 162-3, 166
broadcasting *See Broadcasting Act*; Canadian Broadcasting Corporation; radio
Brookings *See* Robert Brookings Graduate School of Economics and Government
Bryce, Robert, 110-12, 145, 150-1, 200
Bureau of Government Organization, 98, 137, 140-4, 149-51

C

Cabinet Committee on Dominion–Provincial Relations, 107
Canada Assistance Plan, 115, 133, 151
Canada Pension Plan, 115, 118, 133, 151
Canadian Association of Social Workers, 63, 74-5, 80, 89-91, 115, 131, 198
The Canadian Broadcaster, 158
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 153-72, 200, 204, 205, 208
Canadian Conference on Social Work, 64, 174-6, 179
Canadian Education Association, 136
Canadian Radio League, 156-8

Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), 162, 168

Canadian Welfare, 77, 78, 82, 84-5

Canadian Welfare Council

- child welfare survey, 52
- Community Organization Division, 64, 73
- on federal programs, 131-2
- GD's early work with, 64, 73-4, 77
- GD as executive director of, 77-90, 151, 198-9, 201, 204
- staff in the United Nations, 181-2
- unemployment, 122
- *See also* Davis, R.E.G.; Whitton, Charlotte

Cassidy, Harry

- background, 48-50, 55
- British Columbia public service, 50-6
- health insurance, 55-6, 83
- influence on GD, 29-30, 56, 88, 91-2, 197, 201
- recommended by GD as Deputy Minister of National Welfare, 100
- social security, 83, 204
- social work, 91
- at the University of British Columbia School of Social Work, 63
- at the University of California at Berkeley, 56

CCF, 45, 55, 100, 102-3, 113, 160, 180

child welfare, 52-3, 63, 66, 73,78,83-5. *See also* Children's Aid Societies; Children's Allowance; family allowances

Children's Aid Societies, 52, 54, 128

Children's Allowance, 84-5

Chisholm, Brock, 104-5, 181

civil defense, 97, 126-7

Claxton, Brooke, 96, 99-101, 103-7, 111-12, 127-8, 147, 158-60, 180

client rights, 91

Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), 45, 55, 100, 102-3, 113, 160, 180

Cold War, 95, 97, 126, 184-5

Colchester County, 8, 9, 195

Colchester Men, 9, 196

Coldwell, M.J., 102, 180

Collins, Zella, 52, 62, 89

Community Chest Movement, 58, 67, 78, 128

community organization, 63, 77, 198

Créditistes, 166

Creelman, Lyle (cousin of GD), 14, 196

Crown corporations, 144

CRTC, 162, 168

D

Davidson, Alexander (Sandy) Forrester (uncle of GD), 12, 21-2, 30

Davidson, Allen (brother of GD), 15, 22, 27, 30, 59, 196

Davidson, Catherine (Cassie) (aunt of GD), 12, 14

Davidson, Edna (aunt of GD), 12, 21-2, 59, 71-2

Davidson, Edna (cousin of GD), 22

Davidson, Emma Jane (Sullivan) (mother of GD), 5, 16,196

Davidson, Eunice (aunt of GD), 21-2, 30

Davidson, George
  - ancestors, 10-15
  - birth, 5
  - homes, 12, 18, 21, 30-1, 34-5, 41, 75, 112, 201, 206
  - early education and jobs, 15, 22-3, 31, 173-4, 196
  - at the University of British Columbia, 25-31, 174, 196
  - at Harvard, 34-6, 156-7, 174, 192, 197
  - as classicist, 22, 27, 35, 39-40, 43, 47-8, 59, 128, 154, 174, 192-3, 196, 203
  - early travels, 31, 35, 38-43, 156-7, 174, 197
  - marriages and family life, 59-60, 87, 112, 201, 206-8
  - British Columbia public service, 47-8, 53-6, 68-73, 197-8, 204
  - voluntary sector in Vancouver, 57-69, 89-90, 157, 197-8, 204
  - social work career, 46-8, 56-69, 73-4, 89-91, 129-30, 174-9, 198, 201, 206
  - as teacher, 47, 59, 63, 75, 89, 201
  - Canadian Welfare Council, 77-90, 157
  - National Health and Welfare, 86, 97, 100-32, 147, 158, 199-200, 207
  - Citizenship and Immigration, 97, 133-6
  - Bureau of Government Organization, 137-44, 149-51
  - Treasury Board, 149-51, 154, 171
  - Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 153-72, 200, 204-5, 208
  - United Nations, 129-30, 174, 178-94, 201, 208
  - International Conference of Social Work, 177-8
  - professional reputation, 64, 75, 77, 86-9, 103-4, 116, 131-4, 140, 154-5, 172, 179, 189, 192-3, 205
  - writings and addresses, 27-8, 51-2, 65, 79, 81-2, 129, 175-8, 183-4, 187-8, 203
  - retirement and death, 206-8

Davidson, James Herbert (relative of GD), 31
Davidson, Lucretia (aunt of GD), 12, 14, 30-1
Davidson, Mary (aunt of GD), 12
Davidson, Oliver Wendell (father of GD), 5, 10, 15, 22, 30, 34, 59, 195
Davis, R.E.G. (Dick), 122, 131, 140
The Dawn of Ampler Life: Some Aids to Social Security, 83, 85, 101
de Gaulle, Charles, 163-4, 167
Department of Citizenship and Immigration, 97,133-6
Department of National Health and Welfare, 84-7, 97-132, 147, 181-2, 199 200, 207. *See also* Health and Welfare Canada
Dependents Allowance Board, 79
Dependents Board of Trustees, 79
deputy minister, about the position, 99, 132
Deutsch, John, 107, 110, 112, 145
Diefenbaker, John, 96, 99-102, 124, 133-4, 137, 139, 144, 160
disabled persons, 97, 119, 122-3, 127, 129. *See also* blind persons
Disabled Persons Act, 119-20
Dominion–Provincial Conference on Reconstruction (1945), 105, 107-9, 111, 200. *See also* The Green Book Proposals

E

Economic Advisory Committee, 109-10
employment insurance *See* unemployment assistance
ethical standards, 91

F

Fabians, 50, 92
Fairclough, Ellen Louks, 133-6, 202
Falk, Howard T., 57-8, 89
family allowances, 83-6, 97, 99-105, 119, 129, 199, 207
Farris, Donald, 29
Farris, John, 29
Farris, Ralph, 29
federal–provincial relations, 107-9, 119, 122-5, 129. *See also* Dominion–Provincial Conference on Reconstruction (1945); Rowell-Sirois Commission
Financial Administration Act, 149-50, 205
Forrester, Alexander, 8, 14
Fraser Institute, 206-7
French language, 77, 80-1, 93, 96, 142-3, 159-62, 166-7, 177
Fulton, E. Margaret (cousin of GD), 196

Fulton, James (ancestor of GD), 10-11
Fultons (ancestors and relatives of GD) 10-11, 195-6

G
George Davidson Memorial Lecture Series, 3, 205
Glassco Commission (Royal Commission on Government Organization), 137-42, 147-50, 205-6
Grauer, Dal, 29-30
The Green Book Proposals, 4, 96-9, 105-9, 112, 115-17, 122, 132, 145, 151, 199-200, 204, 209. *See also* Dominion–Provincial Conference on Reconstruction (1945)

H
Hall Report (Report of the Royal Commission on Health Services), 133
Hamel, Marie, 80
Harvard University, 34-6, 156-7, 174, 192, 197
Heagerty, J.J., 82, 204
Heagerty Report, 82-4, 106
Health and Welfare Canada, 87, 111-15. *See also* Department of National Health and Welfare
health insurance, 11, 52-6, 83-4, 97, 106, 115-16, 127-9, 132-3
Henderson, Ruth (wife of GD), 30, 59, 201
Holland, Laura, 52, 54-5, 86, 89
hospital insurance *See* health insurance
Hospital Services and Diagnostic Services Act, 129
Howe, Joseph, 5-6
Huffman, Verna, 181
Hurst, Flora, 30

I
Indian Affairs, 134-6
intergovernmental relations *See* Rowell-Sirois Commission
International Conference of Social Work, 130, 174-9
International Council on Social Welfare, 174, 193

J
Japanese Canadians, 21, 71-2, 80
Jewett, Pauline, 147

Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on Old Age Security, 117-19
Juvenile Delinquents Act, 78
juvenile delinquents, 64, 73, 78

K

Keenleyside, Hugh, 29, 181
Kent, Tom, 146-7, 150-1
Keynesian economics, 111
King, Mackenzie, 60, 95-6, 99-107, 111, 116, 122, 155-6, 158, 180
Knowles, Stanley, 102, 141
Kuiper, Anneke (wife of GD), 201

L

labour movement, 60, 68
Labour Progress, 113
LaMarsh, Judy, 153, 162
Lamb, Kaye, 29
Lamontagne, Maurice, 143-4, 146
Laurier, Wilfrid, 6
Lea, Nora, 80, 90, 198
League for Social Reconstruction, 50, 91-2
League of Nations, 42, 180, 184, 188
Lewis, David, 141
Liberal Party, 60, 96-100, 105, 112, 117, 121-2, 134-5, 139, 141-7, 150, 160, 166, 202, 207

M

Mackintosh, William, 109-10, 112, 121
mandarinate, 3, 109-12, 121, 145, 150-1, 201, 207-8
Marsh, Leonard, 82, 92
Marsh Report (Report on Social Security for Canada), 82-5, 92, 99-100, 106
Martin, Paul, 1, 96, 99-101, 112-18, 124-8, 135, 146-7, 181, 202
Massey Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Science, 160
McCutcheon, Wallace, 137, 139-40
McPhedran, Mary, 52, 62, 89
Medical Care Act, 133, 151
medicare *See* health insurance; *Medical Care Act*

Monteith, Waldo, 99, 115, 125, 128-9, 202
Mothers Allowances Act, 64
mothers' pensions and allowances, 51, 53, 64, 78, 125

N
Nash, Knowlton, 154, 170
National Conference on Social Work, 64
National Council on Physical Fitness, 114
National Employment Commission (1938), 106, 121-3
National Health Grants Program, 115-17, 131
National Housing Act, 125
National Physical Fitness Act, 114-15
National Welfare Council, 132
New Democratic Party (NDP), 141, 143, 145
New Westminster, British Columbia, 17-23, 173, 196
Nova Scotia *See* Bass River, Nova Scotia

O
Old Age Pension Act, 78
old age security, 52, 78, 84, 96-7, 111-19, 123, 129, 207
Order of Canada, 1, 3
Ormsby, Margaret, 30
Ottawa, GD resident in, 112
Ouimet, J.A., 161, 163

P
Parliamentary Committee on Health Insurance (1943), 106
Parliamentary Committee on Reconstruction, 82
Pattullo, Thomas Dufferin (Duff), 45-6, 56, 60, 69-71
Pearson, Lester, 95-6, 112, 135, 143-7, 150-4, 161, 172, 176-7, 180
pensions *See* blind persons; old age security
physical fitness, 114-15, 129
Picard, Laurent, 154, 168, 205
Pickersgill, Jack, 112, 135, 145
Privy Council, 137, 140, 143-4, 148, 150-1, 200
Progressive Conservative Party, 83, 85, 99-102, 125, 128, 134, 139, 141, 145, 160, 206-7
public policy, 4, 147, 206-8

Q

Quebec separatism, 95, 98, 163-8, 170

R

radio, 37-8, 155-60, 163, 167-71

Rasminsky, Louis, 110, 112, 145

reconstruction, subcommittee on, 109. *See also* Dominion–Provincial Conference on Reconstruction; The Green Book Proposals

Regina Manifesto, 55

Report of the Natural Resources Planning Board, 82

Report of the Royal Commission on Health Services (Hall Report), 133

Report on Social Security for Canada (The Marsh Report), 82-5, 92, 99-100

Reynolds, Francis, 62, 89

Robert Brookings Graduate School of Economics and Government, 49

Robertson, Gordon, 150-1, 200

Robertson, Norman, 110, 145, 180

Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 34, 41, 46

Rowell Commission *See* Rowell-Sirois Commission

Rowell-Sirois Commission, 60, 63-4, 70, 73, 106

Royal Commission on Government Organization (Glassco Commission), 137-42, 147-50

S

Saul, John Ralston, 209

Sharp, Mitchell, 109, 118, 145, 205

Sinclair, Adelaide, 131, 181-2

Sinclair, James, 29

Sirois Commission *See* Rowell-Sirois Commission

Skelton, Alex, 107, 110

Social Credit Party, 145, 166

Social Insurance and Allied Services (Beveridge Report), 82

Social Planning for Canada, 50, 92

Social Security and Reconstruction in Canada, 83

social security, development of, 82-5, 89-92, 96, 99-101, 105-6, 109, 115, 125, 129, 151, 157, 175, 199-200, 207

Social Service Exchange, 66, 68

Social Service Index, 66

social work
  GD on, 63, 203
  GD's career in, 46-8, 56-9, 73-4, 89-91, 129-30, 174-5, 198, 203

  influence on GD, 88-91
  medical, 62-3, 131
  National Health Grants Program, 131
  psychiatric, 131
  University of British Columbia School of Social Work, 63, 74-5, 89, 92, 198, 201
  See also Canadian Conference on Social Work; International Conference of Social Work
The Social Worker, 91
social workers
  British Columbia, 52, 54-5, 62-3
  Canadian Association of Social Workers, 63, 74-5, 80, 89-91, 115, 131, 198
  Canadian Welfare Council, 74, 130-1
  Harry Cassidy on, 91
  influence on GD, 88-91
Special Committee on Social Security, 106
spending power, 102
Splane, Richard, 133
Spry, Graham, 50, 92, 156-7, 160-1
St. Laurent, Louis, 86, 96, 107, 117, 122, 146, 180
Sullivan, Emma Jane (mother of GD), 5, 16,195
Sutherland, Mary, 122-3

T

television, 158-71
Therrien, Eugene, 137, 142-3
"This Hour Has Seven Days," 161, 169-70
Thompson, Edson Everett, 6, 15
Tolmie, Jean, 30
Trades and Labour Council, 68
Treasury Board, 3, 98, 138, 141-2, 148-50, 154, 171, 200, 205
Trudeau, Pierre, 96, 151, 166-7, 170
Tupper, Charles 5-6

U

Ubyssey, 27-30, 49
unemployment assistance, 52, 79, 96-7, 115, 120-5, 128-9, 146-7
Unemployment Assistance Act, 124-6, 128, 146-7
Unemployment Insurance Act, 121

- United Nations
  - Canada's contribution to, 95, 130-31, 176, 180-2, 193
  - Economic and Social Council, 131, 177-8, 182, 186, 189-91
  - GD's service to, 130-31, 174, 178-94, 201-2, 208
  - Population Commission, 190-4
  - Security Council, 180-1
- United States, 33-8, 82, 156, 174, 197
- University of British Columbia
  - Bostock lectures, 26-7
  - Classics Club, 27, 40
  - GD's contacts through, 29-30, 59, 201
  - GD's undergraduate education, 25-31
  - School of Social Work, 63, 74-5, 89, 92, 198, 201
  - *Ubyssey*, 27-30, 49

V

- Vancouver Council of Social Agencies, 57-8, 61-8, 89, 204
- Vancouver, GD resident in, 17-31, 56-69
- Vancouver Social Welfare Federation, 57-8, 61, 65-8, 204
- Victoria, GD resident in, 47-56, 69-74, 206

W

- wartime, 21, 70-3, 79-82, 88, 101-8, 119-21, 126, 138, 184-5, 198, 207-8. *See also* Cold War
- Weir, George M., 47-9, 53, 55-6, 63, 71
- Welfare Grants Program, 130-1
- welfare services, 51-6, 66-7, 71
- welfare state, 4, 96-7, 99-100, 106, 133, 206-8
- White Paper on Employment and Incomes (1943), 106-7
- Whitton, Charlotte, 73-4, 77-9, 83-5, 101, 204
- Women's Sub-committee on Reconstruction (Canadian Welfare Council), 83-4
- Women's Voluntary Services, 104
- Woodsworth, J.S., 113
- workmen's compensation, 51, 52

Y

- young offenders *See* juvenile delinquents

■ About the Author:

Dr. Richard B. Splane, C.M., MSW, PhD, LL.D.

Richard Splane's extensive and varied career was deeply influenced by his early years in urban and rural settings in Alberta during the Great Depression of the 1930s and, later, by work in mining and railroad construction camps with Frontier College. They offered direct experience with the economic and social conditions affecting the lives of the least-advantaged Canadians. During World War II, he served as a pilot in the Royal Canadian Air Force in Canada and Britain, and at that time became attracted to the emerging discipline of social welfare and to leading figures within it – notably Dr. George Davidson.

His general and professional education both before and after the War that bolstered his career decision included studies in Political Economy and History at McMaster University, Modern History at the University of Toronto, Social Science and Administration at the London School of Economics, and doctoral studies in social policy at the University of Toronto's Faculty of Social Work.

Splane's 20 years (1952-1972) in the public service of Canada offered a wide range of research and administrative experience in health and social services. He carried senior responsibilities during the formative period in the development of Canada's social security system. As the first Director of Unemployment Assistance, he played the lead role in crafting its successor, the Canada Assistance Plan. He also carried a number of international functions: representing Canada at international meetings of ministers and officials, being a member of the United Nations Expert Group on Social Welfare Policy and Planning in 1973, and serving on the UNICEF Board (1961 and 1964).

Both during and following his years in government, he served on the boards and executive committees of non-governmental organizations: the Executive Committee of the International Council on Social Welfare, 1976-82; Vice-President, International Association of Schools of Social Work, 1982-86; President, North American Regional Association of the International Association of Schools of Social Work, 1968-70; and President, International Conferences on Social Development, 1989-93. At the local level, he was President of the Vancouver Branch of the World Federalists, Canada, and is currently an active member of the Board of the Vancouver Branch of the United Nations Association Canada.

Highlights of Splane's extensive community service include the position of President of the Social Planning and Research Council of British Columbia; President of the British Columbia Association of Social Workers; President of the Canadian Association of Social Workers; Vice President of the Canadian Council on Social Development; and Patron of International Social Services, Canada.

Dr. Splane's academic career included a year as visiting professor at the University of Alberta (1972-73), eight years as professor at the School of Social Work, University of British Columbia, and courses, lectures and seminars at the universities of Calgary, Carleton, Exeter, McGill, Nottingham, Saskatchewan, Toronto, and Victoria. He gives an annual lecture on social policy at Simon Fraser University. His teaching draws on his experience in the public sector, his linkages with the non-governmental sector, and the values and commitments of social work.

Dr. Splane has received numerous provincial, national and international medals and awards: the Centennial Medal, 1966; the Canadian Commemorative Medal, 1967-1992; the Queen's Golden Jubilee Medal, 2002; the Charles E. Hendry Award for Contributions to Canadian and International Social Development, 1982; Outstanding Service Award, Canadian Council on Social Development, 1995; Doctor of Laws, Wilfred Laurier University, 1988; Doctor of Laws, McMaster University, 1990; Doctor of Laws, University of British Columbia, 1996; Joint Award with Verna Huffman Splane for Advancing Health Through Government Nursing Leadership, Emory University, Georgia, 2001; and Member, Order of Canada, 1996.

Dr. Splane's research, writing and speaking are reflected in books, articles, reviews, and published letters dating from the early 1950s and continuing into the 21st century – most notably in evidence as *George Davidson: Social Policy and Public Policy Exemplar.*

GEORGE DAVIDSON: SOCIAL POLICY and PUBLIC POLICY EXEMPLAR

by Richard B. Splane

This policy-centred biography of George Davison explores the progression of his brilliant career in the voluntary and public sectors of British Columbia and Canada and at the United Nations. Although most widely known for his presidency of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Davidson's major legacies live on in rational social policy and in humanely inspired public policy.

* * *

"Richard Splane's new biography of George Davidson reminds us of a more dynamic era of Canadian history than our own, the mid-20th century, when confidence in public policy, social policy, and the ability of government to be effective was at its height. George Davidson's life and career – so admirably described in this book – are also a challenge to those of us in public life today to go forth and do likewise, to define and achieve those great national projects which will continue to make Canada great."

John Godfrey, MP

"George Davidson made a leading contribution to the thought, and even more to the implementation, of Canadian social policy, and Dick Splane is uniquely qualified to be his chronicler."

Tom Kent, C.C.

"This engaging and well-written biography of George Davidson makes an important and timely contribution to our understanding of the critical era in which the Canadian welfare state first took shape. Richard Splane provides a concise and insightful assessment of the work of a consummate career civil servant whose policy legacy, between the 1940s and the 1970s, cut across the fields of social welfare, immigration, broadcasting, and the United Nations. Splane's portrait of George Davidson also succeeds in getting behind the scenes of the policy process to illuminate the ideals and influences which shaped one of Canada's most influential civil servants of the 20th century."

Jim Struthers, Professor, History

"George Davidson, one of the most famous and colourful of the Ottawa mandarins, left the presidency of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation to accept, and carry with distinction, the most senior post held, up to that time, by a Canadian at the United Nations."

Clyde Sanger, Internationalist

"Richard Splane's biography of George Davidson is excellent; a fine tribute to a great Canadian. It has an interesting reference to social policy incorporating cultural policy dealing with, but transcending, common human needs to serve the mind and spirit seeking social well-being at its highest level."

Allan Irving, Professor, Social Work

"George Davidson's whole career bespeaks a high standard of moral conduct."

Mitchell Sharp, P.C., C.C